

Hermeneutical Strategies of the Bible:

A Case Study of Chinese Protestant Christians in Late Qing (1860-1900)

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Abstract:

This thesis aims at demonstrating the reception of the Bible by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. It is affirmed that the context and the assumptions of the readers influenced their writings. The thesis argues that Chinese Protestant Christians in late Qing adopted both negotiation and negation to achieve the aim of refuting the accusations against them.

Chinese translations of the complete Bible appeared in the 19th century, although Christianity itself has a long history in China. Its circulation became especially wide after the whole of China was forced to open to missionaries in 1860. Protestant missionaries were especially enthusiastic in distributing the Bible and tracts. Chinese Protestant Christians in the late Qing period were the first group which could read the whole Bible in their own language. They published their own reflections on Christianity and the Bible in the magazines published by missionaries. These articles demonstrated how the Bible was received in its early phase of circulation. Seen from their different contexts, it is clear that their reception of the Bible is an effort to appropriate the Bible. Two issues are to be especially analyzed: the first is the political vision they received from the Bible; the second is the traditional morality they confirmed through reading the Bible. Both are held together.

In addition, the Chinese Protestant Christians embraced a wider Chinese tradition than Confucianism. They accepted the traditional values in Chinese society and claimed that they were the real successor of Confucius and criticized those who did not convert to Christianity. And some of them even believed that Christianity can replace Confucianism. The tendency of reductionism can be observed in their reducing the Bible, their context and their culture to certain common “essences” probably influenced the Protestant Christian theologians in Republican Era.

撮要：

本論文主要分析晚清的中國基督徒是如何接受《聖經》。無可否認，讀的處境和前設也深入地影響他們的閱讀。本文希望展示的，是在晚清中國基督徒接受聖經的過程中，中國基督徒或用了協商，或用了否定的方式，甚至他們的詮釋結果也並不一樣。但有一個主要的動機主導他們：把聖經挪用到他們的處境中以反駁那些他們所受到的譴責。

雖然基督教在中國有相當長的歷史，但完整的《聖經》中文譯本在十九世紀才出現。而在一八六零年中國被迫開放予傳教士，而他們派送《聖經》為傳教方式後，《聖經》在中國變得普及。晚清的中國基督徒是第一批能靠自己並以自己的母語閱讀聖經的基督徒。他們更把自己對基督教和《聖經》的反思刊登在傳教士辦的雜誌上。這些反思可以顯示《聖經》在早期傳入中國時是如何被接受的。而本文集中討論兩方面的問題，其一是他們從《聖經》中得到的政治理想，其二是他們透過《聖經》而肯定的傳統道德價值。

而且，中國基督徒所擁抱的中國傳統也不限於儒家傳統，而是一些中國社會中廣為接受的價值。但是，他們仍然聲稱自己是儒家的真正繼承者，並批評不接受基督教的儒者。另一些則進而認為基督教能夠代替儒家。在他們的文中亦可見一種還原主義的傾向。這種把聖經、處境和傳統文化三者還原為一些「精義」而指出它們本為一體的思想，也影響到民國時期的基督教神學家。

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Meanwhile, I understand the immaturity of my arguments and I admit all of the faults. As *The Rites of Zhou* said, the more I learn, the more I discover that I don't know.

I am also thankful to all supporting staffs in the office of Department of Cultural and Religious Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong for their help in administrative works.

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I hope my mother who has rested in Heaven will be proud of me.

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Notes on the Style

For the transliteration of Chinese names, the Pinyin system is mainly used throughout the thesis except the names of place before 1949 and names of person whose transliteration have been commonly accepted. For contemporary authors, transliterations used by themselves would be adopted. A list of transliteration of Chinese names will be provided in the appendix.

Biblical quotations in English are mainly taken from the King James Version, and quotations of Chinese Classics are mainly taken from James Legge's translation unless otherwise indicated.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Bible is the foundational text of Christianity. It has the utmost importance in the belief system, especially in the Protestant tradition, for it forms the basis of all doctrines and theology. Ironically, according to our knowledge of hermeneutical theories, the meaning of a text is subject to the interpretation of the reader, who is influenced by his/her background knowledge and context. The Bible is no exception. It has been interpreted differently in different times and places throughout its history, and different forms of theology have been derived from these readings.

Thus the reception of the Bible in China demonstrates how Christianity is understood in the Chinese context. China has a totally different language system, ideology and political system from the Christian civilizations of the West. The Catholic mission to China in the late Ming and early Qing period already portrayed how the two civilizations met and clashed. However, the whole Bible was never translated into Chinese during that period, and the Catholic missionaries were dominated by the Catholic theology of the Counter Reformation. In addition, only the works of scholar-officials are left to us. It is obvious that this early reception of the Bible was partial and incomplete.

Complete Chinese translations of the Bible first appeared in the 19th century. Although having different viewpoints towards Chinese culture, and their own theological conflicts, the Protestant missionaries shared the same idea of “Sola Scriptura”: the Bible was the sole authority for missionaries and Chinese Protestant Christians from different denominations, especially since there was no other common authority between missionaries, who were from different denominations and countries. In short, the Bible is not only the key to Christian beliefs, but also the sole authority regarding to all conflicts among the beliefs. Nevertheless, the Chinese Protestant Christians in the late Qing period were the first group of Chinese Christians who could read the Bible in their own language and regard it as the sole authority in every debate relating to Christianity. Therefore, the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians demonstrate better how Christianity was understood in the Chinese context.

1.1 Christianity and Late Qing China (1860-1900)

The ban on Christianity following the Rite Controversies was still in force when Dr. Robert Morrison arrived China in 1807. Mission bases were set up in South-East Asia. The situation altered only after the first Anglo-Chinese war (1840) and the Treaty of Nanking (1842) . However, Christianity was still only allowed to be preached in the five treaty ports and

Hong Kong after 1842, as listed in The Treaty of Nanking.¹ Some missionaries, like Auguste Chapdelaine (1814-1856), tried to enter the Inland area of China to preach and were killed.² Although there was progress for missionaries, the growth of the local church community was relatively slow. Missionaries in Hong Kong agreed to publish a new translation of the Bible.³ They looked for chances to Christianize China through the Taiping regime and were disappointed.⁴ It was not until the 1860s that the missionary activities had a breakthrough.

The death of Auguste Chapdelaine, together with the Arrow Incident, led to the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Chinese war. The joint army of France and Britain captured the capital of China in 1860. The emperor fled to his summer palace in Chengde (承德) and died there. The Convention of Peking was signed later, allowing missionaries to preach and build churches throughout the whole of China without fear of official persecution.⁵

¹ Jonathan Spence, *the Search of Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 160-163.

² Immanuel Hsü, *the Rise of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 206.

³ Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5:1-12 and Col 1* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wilsell International, 1987), 48.

⁴ Jonathan Spence, *the Search of Modern China*, 178.

⁵ Immanuel Hsü, *the Rise of Modern China*, 215.

The subsequent growth of Christianity was obvious. In 1877, there were only 13,035 local Chinese Protestant Christians. By 1890, there were 37,287. More Chinese Protestant Christians were able to read the Bible and reflect on it. The “social gospel” movement also brought hospitals and schools to rural China. These changed China a lot. It is noted that the earliest revolutionaries in the 1900s were educated in Christian schools. On the other hand, a negative reception of Christianity was also evident. The number of attacks on missionaries increased after 1860: the Tianjin Massacre of 1870 was one of the most serious. The anti-Christian movement reached its peak in 1900. The Boxer Uprising killed nearly 1900 local Chinese Christians and 130 foreign missionaries.⁶ Despite the difficulties the hostile social situation posed for the Chinese Protestant Christians, the growing number of converts showed that Christianity was spreading in China. And the change of attitudes towards Christianity in China after Boxer Uprising is also prominent. Christianity contributed to the 1911 revolution, which overthrew the Qing government and abolished the system of monarchy in China. Nevertheless, our research would stop at the year of 1900.

1.2 The Sources and Their Authors

⁶ K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 516-517.

The backbone of the current research is a total number of 105 articles on the Bible written by the Chinese Protestant Christians in the period that Christian church was mushrooming. These articles were published in two magazines, the *Jiaohui Xinbao* (教會新報, Abbreviated as *JHXP*) and *Wanguo Gongbao* (萬國公報, Abbreviated as *WGGB*). In addition, articles from magazines published in that period would also occasionally be used. All articles used will be listed on the bibliography of primary sources. Below is a catalogue of these sources arranged chronologically.

Catalogue of the articles⁷

	Author	Title	Vol.	Date
Source from <i>Jiaohui Xinbao</i>				
1	Lu Congzhou (路從周)	Questions from Lu Congzhou in Ningpo (寧波路從周來問)	1	1868
2	Wang Pinsan (黃品三)	Wang Pinsan’s answers to brethren Lu (黃品三答路教友)	1	1868
3	Wang Pinsan	Second part of the answer to brethren Lu (接刊路教友後半)	1	1868
4	Zhu Shitang (朱師堂)	Article from Hankou (漢鎮來稿)	1	1868
5	Lu Congzhou	Questions from Ningpo (寧波來問)	2	1869
6	Lu Congzhou	Questions from Lu Congzhou (路從周問)	2	1869
7	Wang Pinsan	Answering Lu Congzhou (答路從周)	2	1869
8	Wang Pinsan	Answering Lu Congzhou (答路從周)	2	1869
9	Zhizui Zi (知罪子)	If ye love me, keep my commandments (John 14: 15)(爾若愛我則守我誠論)	2	1869
10	Chen Shenxiu	Poems on the Ten Commandments	2	1869

⁷ The English translation of the Biblical verses in this catalogue follows King James Version.

	(陳慎修)	(上帝十誡詩)		
11	Lu Congzhou	Reply to Brethen Wang's letter on questioning (覆黃教友論疑問書)	2	1869
12	Wang Pinsan	Answering Brethren Lu (答路教友書)	2	1869
13	Lianfeng Jushi (蓮峰居士)	But whom say ye that I am (Matt. 16: 15) (惟爾言我為誰)	2	1869
14	Lianxi Yishi (蓮溪逸史)	But whom say ye that I am (Matt. 16: 15) (惟爾言我為誰)	3	1870
15	Qianbao Zi (潛抱子)	But whom say ye that I am (Matt. 16: 15) (惟爾言我為誰)	3	1870
16		The Rank of the writing competition (錄取文會名次總批)	3	1870
17		But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 19: 14) (耶穌不悅曰容孩提就吾勿禁蓋有天國者正如此是也)	3	1870
18	Qian Lianxi (錢蓮溪)	Pray without ceasing (1.Thess 5: 17) (祈禱不輟論)	3	1870
19	Qian Lianxi	Comments on three verses in the Bible (讀聖經管窺三則)	3	1870
20	Bangu Yongren (半瞽庸人)	(Writing to ask Pastor Allen to continue to post articles on Biblical verses) (請美國林牧師續登聖經題文書)	3	1870
21	Haishang Shanren (海上山人)	But whom say ye that I am (Matt. 16: 15) (惟爾言我為誰)	3	1870
22	Zuijing Sheng (醉經生)	But whom say ye that I am (Matt. 16: 15) (惟爾言我為誰)	3	1870
23	Yang Yongzhi (楊用之)	Poems on the Lord's teaching of eight blessings (主訓八福詩)	3	1870
24	Yin Weiqin (尹維清)	Questions on the Bible (聖經疑問)	3	1870
25	Zexing Zi (則行子)	Poems on the ten selected subjects from Bible (聖經十題詩)	3	1870
26	Chen Darong (陳大鏞)	Answers to the Questions on the Bible by Yin (答聖經疑問)	3	1870
27	Yuedong Xiushi (粵東修士)	Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. (1 Thess 5: 21)	4	1871

		(宜察凡事其善者執之)		
28	Qiushui Yiren (秋水伊人)	Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. (1 Thess 5: 21) (宜察凡事其善者執之)	4	1871
29	Woyun Shanren (臥雲山人)	Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. (1 Thess 5: 21) (宜察凡事其善者執之)	4	1871
30	Cheng Jiehua (程介花)	And him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out (John 6: 37) (凡就我者我之不棄)	4	1871
31	Yang Jiantang (楊鑑堂)	Explanation of the Ten Commandments (上帝十誡解)	5	1873
32	Ying Shaogu (英紹古)	What shall I do to inherit eternal life? (Luke 10: 25) (我當何爲可得永生)	5	1873
33	Wang Luanguang (黃鸞光)	And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him: And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying (Matt. 5: 1-2) (耶穌見眾登山而坐門徒既集啓口教之曰)	5	1873
34	Wang Luanguang	Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. (Matt 5: 3) (虛心者福矣以天國乃其國也)	5	1873
35	Wang Youguang (王有光)	Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God (Acts 7: 56) (我見天啓人子立上帝右論)	5	1873
36	Yang Yongzi	Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world (John 18: 36) (耶穌曰我國不屬此世)	6	1874
37	Cai Hongzhang (蔡鴻璋)	Persuasion on reading the Bible (勸讀聖經文)	6	1874
38	Zhu Bida (朱必達)	That one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day (2 Peter 3: 8) (主視一日猶千年千年猶一日解)	6	1874
Sources from <i>Wanguo Gongbao</i>				
39	Li Chunsheng	There is book that is necessary and	7:316	19/12/1874

	(李春生)	teaching that must be followed. (論書有萬不可缺道有世所必宗)		
40		Eleven Questions (求教十一則)	7:320	16/1/1875
41	Yu Futien (俞福田)	On the Cross (十字架論)	7:340	12/6/1875
42	Quanwei Zi (勸慰子)	I am that bread of life (John 6: 35; 48) (主爲生命之糧)	7:344	10/7/1875
43	Yu Futien	That one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day (2 Peter 3: 8) (主視一日猶千年千年猶一日)	7:346	24/7/1875
44	Guwangyan (姑妄言)	The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head (Matt. 8: 20) (狐狸有穴天空之鳥有巢唯人子無 枕首之所也)	8:354	18/9/1875
45	Li Tao (李濤)	On all men are sinned, the kingdom of heaven is at hand, Repent, don't confine to the seen, those who believe will be saved.(論人皆有罪天國近矣爾宜悔改 勿拘未見信者得救)	8:355	25/9/1875
46	Liu Changxing (劉常惺)	Jesus answered him, Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, The cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice. Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me (John 13: 38-14: 1) (耶穌曰爾願爲我捐命乎我誠告爾雞鳴 之先爾將三言不識我矣爾心勿戚戚當 信上帝亦信我矣)	8:355	25/9/1875
47	Qingchuan Yilao (晴川逸老)	From which some having swerved have turned aside unto vain jangling (1 Tim. 1: 6) (有人棄此轉求虛誕)	8:357	9/10/1875
48	Qingchuan Yilao	For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. (Rom. 8: 18) (我謂今時雖苦然以我中將顯之榮較之)	8:360	30/10/1875

		不足爲意也)		
49	Yu Futien	Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him. (Acts 28: 31) (言主耶穌基督之事侃侃如也)	8:360	30/10/1875
50	Chen Xuanling (陳宣令)	I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life (John 8: 12) (我乃世之光從我者不行於暗得生之光)	8:362	13/11/1875
51	Qingchuan Yilao	Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world (John 18: 36) (耶穌曰我國不屬此世)	8:364	27/11/1875
52	Yang Jiantang	Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world (John 18: 36) (耶穌曰我國不屬此世)	8:375	19/2/1876
53	Liu Changxing	Ten Commandment from Moses is compatible with Confucian teaching (摩西十誡與儒道相合說)	8:375	19/2/1876
54	Yu Futien	Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world (John 18: 36) (耶穌曰我國不屬此世)	8:379	18/3/1876
55	Chan Daosheng (闡道生)	And they were all amazed, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, We have seen strange things to day (Luke 5: 26) (且驚駭曰今日見意外之事矣)	8:379	18/3/1876
56	Nie Zixiang (聶子祥)	And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power. (Luke 4: 32) (眾異其訓以道勝也)	8:393	24/6/1876
57	Li Qianjin (李乾金)	And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power. (Luke 4: 32) (眾異其訓以道勝也)	8:395	8/7/1876
58	Yang Yongzhi	Poems from Hankou on the Ten Commandments(漢口寄來福音十誡詩)	8:395	8/7/1876
59	Zhong Yunsheng (仲允升)	For the love of money is the root of all evil (1 Tim. 6: 10) (貪財爲萬惡之根)	8:396	15/7/1876

60		On the faith of Abraham: Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness (Rom. 4: 3) (論亞伯拉罕之信：聖書云亞伯罕信神中稱之爲義)	8:398	29/7/1876
61	Cheng Yifu (程一福)	And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power. (Luke 4: 32) (眾異其訓以道勝也)	8:398	29/7/1876
62		Continue on the faith of Abraham (續論亞伯拉罕之信)	8:399	5/8/1876
63	Liu Changxing	Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world (John 18: 36) (耶穌曰我國不屬此世)	9:412	4/11/1876
64	Shen Yunbo (沈雲伯)	Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world (John 18: 36) (耶穌曰我國不屬此世)	9:413	11/11/1876
65	Zhang Fengkun (張鳳崑)	I will make you fishers of men (Matt. 4: 19) (我將使爾爲漁人之漁者焉)	9:416	2/12/1876
66	Zhang Fengyuan (張逢源)	by the law of faith (Rom. 3: 27) (在信)	9:420	30/12/1876
67	Chan Daosheng	that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day (2 Peter 3: 8) (主觀一日猶千年千年猶一日)	9:421	6/1/1877
68	Li Wansong (李萬松)	Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved. (Acts 4: 12) (此外別無救蓋天下人間更無賜他名俾我儕可由之得救也)	9:422	13/1/1877
69	Luo Shizhen (羅世珍)	And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power. (Luke 4: 32) (眾異其訓以道勝也)	9:426	10/2/1877
70	Lai Guichun (賴桂春)	And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power. (Luke 4: 32) (眾異其訓以道勝也)	9:429	10/3/1877
71	Fuli Yimin (甫里逸民)	And another of his disciples said unto him, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury	9:433	7/4/1877

		my father. But Jesus said unto him, Follow me; and let the dead bury their dead. (Matt. 8: 21-22) (又一門徒曰主容我歸葬父耶耶穌曰從我任夫死人葬其死人)		
72	Bu Wangpian (補網篇)	In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth (Gen. 1: 1) (起初的時候上主創造天地)	10:454	8/9/1877
73	Bu Wangpian	God created living creatures in water, winged fowl, beast, insects and people on the fifth day.(上主於第五日第六日造水族飛禽走獸昆蟲及人)	10:455	15/9/1877
74	Bu Wangpian	On the third day God divided the sea and land, created grass and trees. (第三日上主分水陸造草木)	10:459	13/10/1877
75	Bu Wangpian	Exploring a verse in the Bible (Heb. 12: 1-6) (聖書經解題)	10:460	20/10/1877
76	Bu Wangpian	If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them (John 13: 17) (爾若知此而行之則福而)	10:461	27/10/1877
77	Bu Wangpian	I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service (Romans 12: 1) (兄弟乎我顧念神之慈勸爾獻爾身為活祭聖而為神所悅者乃爾當然之役也)	10:462	3/11/1877
78	Bu Wangpian	The main theme of Chapter 3 of Genesis (創世記第三章大旨)	10:463	10/11/1877
79	Bu Wangpian	for I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner (Ps. 39: 12) (因我象客寄居士上)	10:464	17/11/1877
80	Bu Wangpian	Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. (1 Thess 5: 21) (宜察凡事其善者執之)	10:465	24/11/1877
81	Bu Wangpian	By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his	10:468	15/12/1877

		only begotten son (Heb. 11: 17) (由信亞伯拉罕見試時獻以撒雖曾蒙應許者亦獻其獨子)		
82	Bu Wangpian	And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters (Gen. 1: 6) (上主說要有空氣叫上下水分開)	10:469	22/12/1877
83	Zhou Shungui (周順規)	Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. (1 Thess 5: 21) (宜察凡事其善者執之)	10:470	29/12/1877
84	Bu Wangpian	think on these things (Phi. 4: 8) (爾宜念茲)	10:472	12/1/1878
85	Yang Jiantang	Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him. (Acts 28: 31) (言耶穌基督之事侃侃如也)	10:472	12/1/1878
86	Liu Changxing	Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world (John 18: 36) (耶穌曰我國不屬此世)	10:472	12/1/1878
87	Bu Wangpian	Know ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the law,) how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth? (Rom. 7: 1) (爾曹豈不知律法主人於其在生時耶)	10:473	19/1/1878
88	Bu Wangpian	this do in remembrance of me (Luke 22: 19)(爾行此以記我也)	10:474	26/1/1878
89	Bu Wangpian	we have peace with God (Rom. 5: 1) (得與神復和)	10:475	9/2/1878
90	Bu Wangpian	Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau (Heb. 12: 16) (恐有行淫妄加以掃)	10:477	23/2/1878
91	Bu Wangpian	By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death (Heb. 11: 5) (由信以諾得移去而不死)	10:479	9/3/1878
92	Chen Dianjie (陳殿傑)	I am the way (John 14: 16)(我即途也)	10:495	29/6/1878

93		On “he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea” (Matt. 8: 26) (斥風與海論)	10:495	29/6/1878
94	Ying Shaogu	Wilt thou be made whole? (John 5: 6) (爾欲愈乎)	10:501	10/8/1878
95	Yu Guozhen (俞國楨)	Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy (Matt. 5: 7) (矜恤者福矣以其將見矜恤也)	11:534	12/4/1879
96	Yang Yongzhi	On the Bible (聖書論)	11:539	17/5/1879
97	He Yuquan (何玉泉)	On the Bible (聖書論)	11:543	14/6/1879
98	Chen Yunpeng (陳雲鵬)	And spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness (2 Pet. 2: 5) (惟傳道義之挪亞暨其眷八人得救)	11:545	28/6/1879
99	Xiao Xinzen (蕭信真)	Eleven poems on the Ten Commandments following the rhythm of Brethren in Hankou (和漢口教友十誠詩原韻七律十一首)	11:545	28/6/1879
100	Ouyang Ze (歐陽澤)	Ten poems on the Ten Commandments following the rhythm of Brethren in Hankou (和漢口教友十誠詩原韻七律十首)	11:546	5/7/1879
101	Jiang Lianyuan (蔣連元)	Eleven poems on the Ten Commandments following the rhythm of Brethren in Hankou (和漢口教友十誠詩原韻七律十一首)	12:556	20/9/1879
102	Yili Shi (一蠡氏)	Poems on the ten Commandments (上帝十誠詩)	12:559	11/10/1879
103	Xie Hengtao (謝亨韜)	On the Practice of benevolence (<i>ren</i> 仁). (論仁之實行)	12:572	10/1/1880
104		And thou shalt remember all the way which the LORD thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or no (Deu. 8: 2)	13:631	19/3/1881

		(爾當憶爾上帝導爾於野歷四十年使爾自卑以試爾心使知果守其誠與否)		
105		For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. (1 Cor. 15: 22) (凡屬亞當者死屬基督者蘇)	14:690	20/5/1882

In addition to the above articles in the two well-known magazines, missionaries have founded about twelve other Chinese magazines before *JHXP*⁸ though writings on Christianity by Chinese Protestant Christians were seldom published. *JHXP* was the first magazine that published articles written by Chinese Protestant Christians. *JHXP* later changed its name into *WGGB*, and continued to be almost the only magazine that published works of Chinese Protestant Christians.

JHXP is a magazine for the church founded by Young John Allen (Lin Lezhi 林樂知, 1836-1907). Allen was the owner and the main editor of the magazine, so his experience highly influenced its development. Leung Yuen Sang suggests that the development of *JHXP* into *WGGB* signifies the turning of Allen’s interest from religious affairs to secular affairs.⁹ Later, the magazine became popular among the reformists in the Qing court, and previous research mainly focused on its influence on the reform movement in

⁸ According to the catalogue in Leung Yuen Sang’s work. See Leung Yuen Sang 梁元生, *Lin Lezhi zai Hua Shiye yu "Wan guo gong bao"* 林樂知在華事業與《萬國公報》[Young J. Allen in China: his careers and the *Wan-kuo kung-pao*] (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), 70.

⁹ *Ibid*, 85-86.

China. Leung Yuen Sang suggests that the magazine affected the diplomatic policy of the Qing court.¹⁰ The relationship between the reform movements and *WGGB* is still a hot topic.¹¹

Young John Allen and *JHXP*

Young John Allen was a missionary from the Methodist Episcopal Church of America (South). After his arrival at Shanghai in 1860, he devoted himself to direct preaching as most of the other missionaries did.¹² However, due to the Civil War in the United States, Allen's mother church stopped assisting missionaries in China. Allen suffered from economic difficulty and withdrew from church affairs. He was soon employed by the Chinese government and involved in teaching and translation. He withdrew from the Chinese government in 1883. Leung Yuen Sang suggests that Allen realized the important role the literati and officials played in traditional Chinese society because of his experience in the Chinese government.¹³ This

¹⁰ Leung Yuen Sang, *Lin Lezhi zai Hua Shiye yu "Wan guo gong bao"*, 120-130.

¹¹ See for example, Wang Lin (王林), *Xixue Yu Bianfa: Wanguo Gongbao Yanjiu* 西學與變法：萬國公報研究 [Western Learning and Reform: Study on *Wanguo Gongbao*] (Jinan: Qi Lu Shu She, 2004); Chen Yang (陳陽), *Wanguo Gongbao yu Wanqing Jiaoyu Biange* 萬國公報與晚清教育變革 [*Wanguo Gongbao* and changes of education in late Qing] (Thesis of Master degree in Henan University, 2004).

¹² Ibid, 10.

¹³ Ibid, 11.

experience led Allen to a path different from the majority of the missionaries in China.

In contrast with the majority of missionaries in China, Allen believed that the aim of the Christian mission in China is not only to save individual Chinese people, but to Christianize the whole Chinese society. He believed that the most effective way to Christianize China was to convert the Chinese literati and officials. The choice of a magazine as the medium of preaching is clearly related to Allen's strategy of preaching. *JHXP* was established in 1868 under this circumstance.

As Allen wrote in *JHXP*, the aims of the magazine were to preach the gospel and provide a platform for communication between the Chinese Protestant Christians and the missionaries from different places.¹⁴ The content of the magazine was mostly on church affairs. Questions concerning Christianity were raised, and debates appeared. One of the famous debates is on ancestral worship started by *Jieyu Zi* (劫餘子).¹⁵ Lu Congzhou (路從周) sent three articles consisting of fourteen questions on the Bible, and received

¹⁴ "Ben Shuyuan Zhuren Te Qi" 本書院主人特啓 [Special Announcement from the owner of this college], *JHXP* 1 (1868): 421-422.

¹⁵ For details on this debate, see Ying Fuk Tsang (邢福增), *Wenhua Shiying yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911* 文化適應與中國基督徒: 1860-1911 [Cultural Accommodation and Chinese Christians: 1860-1911] (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary), 152-156.

several responses, but debates related to the Bible only occupy a small portion.

Missionaries and editors of *JHXP* encouraged Chinese Protestant Christians to write articles on the Bible and Christian doctrines. Allen once wrote that he welcomed ‘Christians from different places to choose topics from the Bible’.¹⁶ The magazine even held competitions to attract articles. There were at least two such competitions being held in this period. The earliest series of commentaries, a series of articles on “But whom say ye that I am” (Mt 16:15) is the result of this competition. In the late *JHXP* period, the Chinese Protestant Christian community in Hankou submitted many articles on different verses of the Bible,¹⁷ although not all of them were published in the magazine.

From *JHXP* to *WGGB*

As Leung observes, in the later issues of *JHXP*, Allen paid more attention to the socio-political situation. In 1874, Allen finally changed the name of the magazine into *Wanguo Gongbao*, literally ‘the newspaper of ten

¹⁶ “Qing Zuo Wen Lun” 請做文論 [Invitation on Writings], *JHXP* 1 (1868): 456-7.

¹⁷ Yang Jiantang (楊鑑堂), “Jiashu Nian Hankou Chandao Xinpian Timinlu” 甲戌年漢口闡道新編題名錄 [The Catalogue of Writings on Christianity by Hankou in 1874], *JHXP* 5 (1873): 3240.

thousand countries', with an English name *Globe Magazine*.¹⁸ The aim of the magazine also changed from preaching Christianity to preaching "Western Learning" (*Xixue*, 西學).¹⁹ However, articles on Christianity still occupied a large portion. Allen especially welcomed articles concerning the relationship between Confucianism and Christianity. One of the examples for this is that, after a fierce debate on the names of God in 1877-1878 between Chinese Protestant Christians and the missionary J. Roberts, Allen held a competition to ask for Chinese comments on the differences between the concept *Tian* (天) and *Shangdi* (上帝).²⁰

The magazine stopped in 1883, probably because Allen founded the Anglo-Chinese College (中西書院) and no longer had time for publication.²¹ However, the decline in numbers of articles started in 1881-1882. The reasons for the decline are not clear. Indeed, the enthusiasm of other Chinese Protestant Christian communities to write on the Bible dropped in 1877; only Bu Wangpian continued to comment on the Bible. However, the Chinese Protestant Christians did not stop writing to the magazine. The members of

¹⁸ Leung Yuen Sang, *Lin Lezhi zai Hua Shiye yu "Wan guo gong bao"*, 85.

¹⁹ Ibid, 120.

²⁰ "Qingwen Rushu Suo Chen Tian Suo Chen Shangdi You He Fenbie" 請問儒書所稱天所稱上帝有何分別 [What are the differences between "Heaven" and "Shangdi" in Confucian Books], *WGGB* vol. 13 no. 648 (16/7/1881): 8268.

²¹ Leung Yuen Sang, *Lin Lezhi zai Hua Shiye yu "Wan guo gong bao"*, 49; 58.

Hankou community continued to write poems and miscellaneous news about their own churches to *WGGB*,²² but there were no more writings on Biblical verses from them published. In the late *WGGB*, Chinese Protestant Christians wrote mainly on the issue of ancestral worship and worshipping the gods of popular religions. The magazine also held a competition to attract articles on twelve different aspects of Christianity.²³ The change of topics for the competitions might give a hint that missionaries no longer wanted to receive explorations of Biblical verses by Chinese Protestant Christians.

WGGB under Guangxuehui

The magazine began publishing again in 1889, using the same Chinese name, *Wanguo Gongbao*, but with a different English name: *Review of Times*. Although Young John Allen remained the chief editor, the magazine belonged to the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese (Guangxuehui, 廣學會)²⁴. It also changed into a monthly magazine. After Timothy Richard (1845-1919) became the person in charge

²² See for example “Yongxue Shi” 詠雪詩 [Poems on Snow], in *WGGB* vol. 13 no. 628 (26/2/1881): 7423.

²³ “Qing zuo Shengshu Gaobai” 請作聖書告白 [Invitation on Writings on Christianity], in *WGGB* vol. 13 no. 613 (6/11/1880): 7656-7.

²⁴ It is also known as Christian Literature Society for China. See D. MacGillivray, *A century of Protestant missions in China (1807-1907) being the Centenary conference historical volume* (Shanghai: The American Presbyterian mission press, 1979), 629-634.

of the society in 1891, *WGGB* became the official magazine of the society.²⁵

It focused on how to promote Western knowledge and reform China. The articles that related to Christianity were those which aimed at proving that Christianity was essential to the reform program of China.²⁶ The magazine finally closed down in 1907, after Allen's death.

It is clear that missionaries controlled the publication of the magazine even though the articles were written by Chinese Protestant Christians. Due to the lack of historical research and documents, we can never know how many articles by the Chinese were rejected and how Allen and his fellow editors decided on their publication. Although in many cases Allen and the other editors chose to publish articles that they did not completely agree with, hoping to attract discussion on the issue,²⁷ the possibility that missionaries refuse to publish articles that did not fulfill their needs cannot be denied.

Two trends regarding the nature of the articles can be observed. Firstly, in the earlier period, Chinese Protestant Christians tended to write articles to

²⁵ Leung Yuen Sang, *Lin Lezhi zai Hua Shiye yu "Wan guo gong bao"*, 94-95.

²⁶ See for example Zuo Doushan (左斗山), "Renshi Yougeng Tiandao Buyi lun" 人事有更天道不移論 [On the Principle of Heaven will not change though matters of human being will change], *WGGB* no. 113 (6/1898): 17752.

²⁷ J. S. Roberts, "Lu Pei Xiansheng Shu Bu Wangpian Shengjing Jieti Hou" 陸佩先生書補網篇聖經解題後, [Roberts' remark on the exploration of verse from Bible by Buwangpian]. *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 460 (20/10/1877): 4207.

ask questions on the Bible, while in the later period the articles were mainly exposition of Biblical verses. There were few articles that contain questions on the Bible, but they were mainly written by the missionaries and answers were always given.²⁸ In addition, the non-Christian Chinese also wrote articles to criticize Christianity by asking questions on Bible to other newspaper.²⁹ Whether it is that the Chinese Protestant Christians no longer write articles to ask questions on the Bible or the missionaries refused to publish these articles we cannot tell. Moreover, a drastic decrease on the number of the exposition of the Bible can be observed after 1879, but articles by Chinese Protestant Christians on other topics were still published. The issues they concerned with were ancestral worship and the relationship between Christianity and the reform movements in China. Whether it is the Chinese Protestant Christians who shifted their focus from the Bible to politics or it is the missionaries' agenda to select more articles that promote Christianity and reformation of China we also cannot tell.

The Chinese Protestant Christian Writers

²⁸ See for example, Fengtian Jiaohui Luo Mushi Kouyi (奉天教會羅牧師口譯), "Shengshu Jiuyue Yi Zheng" 聖書舊約疑證 [The Questions and Answers on the Old Testament], *WGGB* vol. 12 no. 574 (24/1/1880): 6993-6; "Xinjiuyue Yi Shuo Xuwen" 新舊約臆說緒問 [Questions on the New and Old Testament], *WGGB* vol. 10: 495 (29/6/1878): 5140-1; "Shifuyin Yi Shuo Xuwen" 四福音臆說第二問 [Questions on the four gospels], *WGGB* vol. 10: 495 (29/6/1878): 5142-5.

²⁹ Mei Jihuan (梅際邨), "Xinyue Shuo Hou", in *Yubao* (渝報) vol. 5 (12/1897).

It can be seen that Chinese Protestant Christian writers come from different places. There are relatively more writers from south-east China (e.g. Guangdong, Chekiang and Shanghai), probably because these cities are opened to foreigners earlier than the other places. Below is a list of the Chinese Protestant Christian Writers according to where they lived.

Church	Chinese Protestant Christians
Hong Kong and Guangdong ³⁰	ChenYunpeng (陳雲鵬), Fuli Yimin (甫里逸民), He Yuquan (何玉泉), Li Wansong (李萬松), Wang Luanguang (黃鸞光) ³¹ , Xiao Xinzhen (蕭信真) ³² , Yin Weiqin (尹維清), Yuedong Xiushi (粵東修士).
Fukien	Chen Shenxiu (陳慎修), Lianfeng Jushi (蓮峰居士), Woyun Shanren (臥雲山人).
Formosa ³³	Li Chunsheng (李春生). ³⁴
Chekiang	Cai Hongzhang (蔡鴻璋), Lu Congzhou (路從周), Wang Youguang (王有光), Yu Guozhen (俞國禎), Zhang Fengkun (張鳳崑), Zhou Shungui (周順規).
Jiangsu	Bangu Yongren (半瞽庸人), Cheng Jiehua (程介花), Haishang Shanren (海上山人), Qianbao Zi (潛抱子), Qian Lianxi (錢蓮溪), Wang Pinsan (黃品三), Zuijingsheng (醉經生).

³⁰ Although Hong Kong had been a British colony since 1842, the church in Hong Kong did not limit their activities in the colony. They tend to preach around the whole Guangdong province. One of the examples is Wang Yuchu from Rhenish mission. See Zha Shijie (查時傑), *Zhongguo Jidujiao Renwu Xiaozhuan* 中國基督教人物小傳 [Concise Biographies of Important Chinese Christians] (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1983), 40-41.

³¹ There is no Xinning County in nowadays Guangdong province, but there is one in Hunan today.

³² Xiao is from Guilin in Guangxi. He signed himself as Guangdong Guilin probably because he is originally from Guilin but at that time he lived in Guangdong.

³³ Although at that time Formosa is under the rule of Qing dynasty and belonged to the administration of Fukien province, the church there is a separate institution, hence the authors separate it from the Fukien province.

³⁴ Li went to Formosa in 1868. Before he left he had lived in Xiamen.

Jiujiang in Jiangxi	Jiang Lianyuan (蔣連元).
Hubei	Chan Daosheng (闡道生), Li Qianjin (李乾金), Li Tao (李濤), Liu Changxing (劉常惺), Luo Shizhen (羅世珍), Nie Zixiang (聶子祥), Qingchuan Yilao (晴川逸老), Yang Jiantang (楊鑑堂), Yang Yongzhi (楊用之), Yu Futian (俞福田), Zexing Zi (則行子), Zhu Bida (朱必達), Zhu Shitang (朱師堂)
Shandong	Qiushui Yiren (秋水伊人), Zhang Fengyuan (張逢原), Zhizui Zi (知罪子), Zhong Yunsheng (仲允升).
Peking	Buwangpian (補網篇), Chen Daiyong (陳大鏞), Ying Shaogu (英紹古).
unknown	Chen Dianjie (陳殿傑), Chen Xuanling (陳宣令), Cheng Yifu(程一福), Guwangyan (姑妄言), Quanwei Zi (勸慰子), Shen Yunbo (沈雲伯), Xie Hengtao(謝亨韜), Yilishi (一蠡氏).
Overseas	San Francisco: Lai Guichun (賴桂春), Ouyang Ze (歐陽澤).

Among the writers listed above, the most famous one should be Fuli Yimin. Fuli Yimin is the pen name of a scholar Wang Tao (王韜, 1828-1897). The same pen name is used in the article “A Short Account on Hong Kong (香港略論)” in 1865.³⁵ Wang’s father is a student of the famous Scholar Duan Yucai (段玉裁, 1735-1815).³⁶ Wang’s father becomes an assistant of missionary Walter Medhurst (1796-1857) in Shanghai and participates in the

³⁵ Wang Tao (王韜), ‘Xiangang Luelun’ 香港略論 [A Short Account on Hong Kong], in *Taoyuan Wenlu Waibian* 弢園文錄外編 [Further articles from Tao Garden] (Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian chu ban she, 2002), 147-150.

³⁶ Lee Chi Fang, *Wang T'ao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship and Literary Achievement* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1992 printing, 1973), 229.

translation project of the Delegates' Version. Wang succeeded his father in 1847 and continued helping the translation project.³⁷ Su Jing suggests that he was baptized in 1853 after a severe illness, but his piety to Christianity faded out after the death of Medhurst in 1857. His attitude towards Christianity is ambiguous.³⁸ He became an outlaw to the Qing government, probably because he supported the Taiping rebels. He escaped to Hong Kong in around 1862 and 1863 with the help of missionaries. He soon became a good friend of James Legge, the missionary in Hong Kong and helped him in translating the Chinese Classics.³⁹

When Wang Tao was the assistant of Walter Medhurst in Shanghai, he was a friend of pastor Pan Xunru (潘恂如) and Qian Lianxi (錢蓮溪).

Although he often went to have tea with them⁴⁰, in the same diary he claimed that he did not have any close friends⁴¹. After he left Shanghai, Wang and the

³⁷ Su Jing (蘇精), 'Wang Tao de Jidujiao Xili' 王韜的基督教洗禮 [The Baptism of Wang Tao], in Wong Man Kong ed., *Wang Tao Yu Jindai Shijie* 王韜與近代世界 [Wang Tao and the Modern World] (Hong Kong: HKEP, 2000), 438-440.

³⁸ Quoting from a paragraph from Wang Tao's diary, Zhang Zhichun (張志春) suggested that Wang Tao did not believe in Christianity. See Zhang Zhichun, *Wang Tao Nianpu* 王韜年譜 [A Chronicle of Wang Tao] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiao yu chu ban she, 1994), 44.

³⁹ For details on Wang's life, see Lee Chi Fang, *Wang T'ao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship and Literary Achievement*.

⁴⁰ Wang Tao, *Wang Tao Riji* 王韜日記 [Diary of Wang Tao] (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju : Xin hua shu dian Beijing fa xing suo fa xing, 1987), (6/6/1860): 174-5; (9/6/1860): 178.

⁴¹ Wang Tao, *Wang Tao Riji*, (30/4/1858): 6.

Chinese Protestant Christians in Shanghai had no more communication. Wang did not write anything in the *WGGB* about Pan's death. Pan was baptized by Walter Medhurst and belonged to London Missionary Society (Abbreviated below as LMS).⁴² From William Muirhead's account, we know that Pan was good at giving sermons in church and converted many Chinese into Christians.⁴³ It is reasonable to believe that Qian was also a member of the LMS church in Shanghai since both Pan and Wang belonged to LMS.

At the same time, there is also an important pastor in the American Southern Baptist Mission in Shanghai, Wang Pinsan (黃品三). Wang was baptized in 1855 and preached many sermons from 1857⁴⁴, and he was also an enthusiastic writer to the *JHXP* and *WGGB*. When Lu Congzhou (路從周) from Ningpo sent articles questioning the Bible, Wang was the first to reply. In addition, the debate on the translation of the name of God among the Chinese Protestant Christian was started by Wang, who suggested the translation of *Zaohuazhu* (造化主, literally the Creator Lord) instead of *Shen* (神) or *Shangdi* (上帝).

⁴² William Muirhead, 'Yeshujiao Jiaoshi Pan Xunru Xingshu' 耶穌教教師潘恂如行述 [The life of Pan Xunru, a teacher in Christianity], *WGGB* vol. 13 no. 636 (23/4/1881): 8046.

⁴³ William Muirhead, 'Yeshujiao Jiaoshi Pan Xunru Xingshu', 8046-7.

⁴⁴ Zha Shijie, *Zhongguo Jidujiao Renwu Xiao Zhuan*, 18.

In 1862, Wang Tao came to Hong Kong. He first met Qu Ang (屈昂)⁴⁵, one of the earliest Chinese Protestant Christians baptized by Dr. Robert Morrison. Qu became Wang's close friend because Qu was the only one in the Hong Kong church community who knew the Shanghai dialects. Wang became the assistant of missionary James Legge, and their relationship was discussed by many researchers.⁴⁶ It is interesting that another Chinese Protestant Christian, He Yuquan (何玉泉), also had a good relationship with James Legge. He was introduced to Wang by Qu Ang, but Wang only mentions him once in his diary.⁴⁷ Their relationship was probably not close.

He Yuquan was a teacher in the Anglo-Chinese School established by James Legge in Hong Kong in 1842. He participated in the Hong Kong church community from 1857 and became a senior church member in the LMS church in Hong Kong.⁴⁸ He claimed that he was originally a disciple of

⁴⁵ About the life of Qu Ang, see Su Jing, *Zhongguo, kai men! : Malixun ji Xiangguan Renwu Yanjiu* 中國，開門！：馬禮遜及相關人物研究 [Open up, China! : Studies on Robert Morrison and his circle] (Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 2005), 241-260.

⁴⁶ See for example, Lee Chi Kong (李志剛), "Cong Wang Tao Wannian Wuzha Tan qi yu Liyage Mushu de Jiaowang 從王韜晚年五札探其與理雅各牧師的交往 [Research on the relationship between Wang Tao and James Legge through late Wang Tao's five letters], in Wong Man Kong ed., *Wang Tao Yu Jindai Shijie*, 453-477.

⁴⁷ He only appeared in Wang's diary once. See Wang Tao, *Wang Tao Riji*, (15/10/1862): 197.

⁴⁸ Lau Siu Lun (劉紹麟), *Zhonghua Jidu Jiaohui Heyitang Shi: Cong Yi Ba Si San Nian Jianji zhi Xiandai* 中華基督教會合一堂史：從一八四三年建基至現代 [History of Hop Yat Church, CCC: From her Founding year 1843 till the Present] (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Jidu jiaohui Heyitang, 2003), 91-92.

Confucius, and he became a disciple of Christianity after he turned 50.⁴⁹ He became a preacher in 1873 but was forced to retire by John Chalmers in 1881, probably because of the conflicts over appointing the pastor in the Church. He died in 1884.⁵⁰

Yin Weiqin also belonged to the LMS Church in Hong Kong, same as He Yuquan and Wang Tao. He was baptized by the Basel mission. He lived in Hong Kong and died before 1904.⁵¹

Li Wansong from the Presbyterian Church in Guangdong and Xiao Xinzhen knew each other, because Xiao wrote a commentary on Li's article. But it is not clear whether they are from the same church.

The writers in Hankou had a closer relationship. They mainly belonged to two denominations: the church of LMS and Jianduhui (監督會) in Wuchang. The LMS mission first established in Hankou by Griffith John and R. Wilson⁵², and outdoor preaching was carried out through large districts in Hupei, Hunan and Henan.⁵³ Therefore, the membership of the church was not

⁴⁹ He Yuquan (何玉泉), "Xu Tian Dao Hecan" 續天道合參 [Continue: a Consideration on Heaven and Dao], *WGGB* vol.10 no. 467 (8/12/1877): 4405.

⁵⁰ Lau Siu Lun, *Zhonghua Jidu Jiaohui Heyitang Shi: Cong Yi Ba Si San Nian Jianji zhi Xiandai*, 100-101.

⁵¹ London Missionary Society Hong Kong Station, *Register and Record of the Chinese Church and of the Events Connected with the Mission*, 35.

⁵² D. MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 5.

limited to the city of Hankou or the province of Hupei. The comments by Yang Yongzhi and Cheng Ziyi are found in the end of the articles of Qingchuan Yilao, Nie Zixiang and Li Qianjin.⁵⁴ Yang and Cheng commented on the articles as commentators of the other writers. It is reasonable to guess that Yang and Cheng played an authoritative role. In addition, Yang had finished studying in Shanghai and joined the staff of his church, probably the LMS church, in 1880.⁵⁵ Cheng was baptized in 1876 in the Jianduhui in Wuchang.⁵⁶ Cheng knew Luo Shizhen personally and wrote a biographical account for Luo, so that a sketch of Luo's life was presented. Luo lost his parents early in his life, and he was sent to a school run by Jianduhui.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid, 7.

⁵⁴ Qingchuan Yilao (晴川逸老), “Wo Wei Jinshi Sui Ku ran yi Wo Zhong Jiang Xian zhi Rong Jiao zhi Buzu Weiyi ye” 我謂今時雖苦然以我中將顯之榮較之不足為意也 [For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 360 (30/10/1875): 1651; Nie Zixiang (聶子祥), “Zhong Yi Qi Xun Yi Dao Sheng ye” 眾異其訓以道勝也 [And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 393 (24/6/1876): 2575; Li Qianjin (李乾金), “Zhong Yi Qi Xun Yi Dao Sheng ye” 眾異其訓以道勝也 [And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 395 (8/7/1876): 2630.

⁵⁵ Cheng Ziyi (程子翼), “Cheng Ziyi Zeng Yang Yongzhi Shi” 程子翼贈楊用之詩 [Cheng Ziyi's poem dedicated to Yang Yongzhi]; Yu Yifeng (余一峰), “Yu Yifeng Zeng Yang Yongzhi Shi” 余一峰贈楊用之詩 [Yu Yifeng's poem dedicated to Yang Yongzhi], *WGGB* vol. 13 no. 614 (13/11/1880): 7673-4.

⁵⁶ “Wuchang Jianduhui Jinwen” 武昌監督會近聞 [Recent News on the Jian-du-hui of Wuchang], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 389 (27/5/1876): 2453.

⁵⁷ Luo Shizhen (羅世珍), “Zhong Yi Qi Xun Yi Dao Sheng ye” 眾異其訓以道勝也 [And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power.], *WGGB* vol. 9 no. 426 (10/2/1877): 3424.

The members of the LMS church in Hankou also includes a staff named Zhu Bida (朱必達), converts named Chan Daosheng, Qingchuan Yilao and Liu Changxing. Liu named himself “Member of the LMS in Henan”⁵⁸, but there was no LMS church in Henan as shown in the 1877 statistics by the missionaries.⁵⁹ He is especially interested in comparing Confucianism with Christianity, but his understanding of Confucianism is based on a scholar in the late Ming and early Qing period named Zhang Zhongcheng (張仲誠). He even thought that Zhang’s annotation is better than that of Zhu Xi (朱熹) because Zhang’s annotation led him to an understanding of the essence of Confucianism and Christianity.⁶⁰

For the rest of the writers, their denomination is not clear. Yu Futian died probably before 1874⁶¹, and *WGGB* kept publishing his articles after his death. Yang Jiantang is a doctor in a hospital named Shi hospital in Hankou (漢口施醫院).⁶²

⁵⁸ Liu Changxing (劉常惺), “Rujiao Shengjiao lun” 儒教聖教論 [On Confucianism and Christianity], *JHXP* 4 (1872): 1824.

⁵⁹ This fact is according to the statistic by the missionary in 1877. See *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878).

⁶⁰ Liu Changxing, “Rujiao Shengjiao lun”, 1824.

⁶¹ In his article published in 1875, it is signed as “Yigao” (遺稿, literally “manuscript left by the dead”), hints that Yu had dead before it published. See Yu Futien, “Shizijia lun” 十字架論 [On the Cross], *WGGB* vol. 7 no. 340 (12/6/1875): 1088.

⁶² “Quan Jie Yangyan Wen bing Fang” 勸戒洋煙文並方 [Persuasion and medicine for giving up Opium Smoking], in *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 367 (18/12/1875): 1848.

Finally, writers in Tianjin and Beijing are introduced. Zhang Fengyuan in Tianjin was the assistant of the missionary Jonathan Lees of the United Methodist Church. Ying Shaogu was a Manchu. He was a pastor of the LMS Church in Beijing. Chen Darong (1841-1900) is a pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North. He was baptized in the LMS church in 1867, but was transferred to be the assistant of Lucus Wheeler and Hiram Lowry because of the lack of Chinese pastors in their church. He was killed in the Boxer Uprising in 1900.⁶³

Buwangpian is the most active writer from the Beijing church community. He alone contributed 17 articles to *WGGB*, and he was active in the period 1877-1878. The name “Buwangpian” was a pen name, his real name was Cao Ziyu (曹子漁 also named as 曹景榮 Cao Jingrong) and he was from the Presbyterian Church in Beijing.⁶⁴

Cao was the Mandarin teacher of the missionary W. A. P. Martin when he was in Ningpo, and he was converted by Martin. He followed Martin to Beijing in 1863 to help him build the first Presbyterian Church there.⁶⁵

⁶³ Zha Shijie, *Zhongguo Jidujiao Renwu Xiao Zhuan*, 34-36.

⁶⁴ Bu Wangpian, ‘Shenshu Tiwen’ 聖書題文 [On the Bible], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 462 (3/11/1877): 4262.

⁶⁵ Cao Ziyu (曹子漁), “Meiguo Lulishin Moshi Chun” 美國陸禮信牧師傳 [Biography on pastor Lu-li-xin from the U. S.], in *JHXP* vol. 2 (1869): 681.

Martin is then employed by the Tongwenguan (同文館), a government-held school especially for the reform program. In this period, as Martin wrote in his memoir, Cao took up all the duties of the church.⁶⁶ Moreover, Cao wrote a lot of articles using various pen names for both *JHXP* and *WGGB* and composed many fables.⁶⁷ However, after 1878, neither Cao Ziyu nor Buwangpian sent articles to *WGGB*.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Previous research on different fields related to the current research will be examined in the following chapter. Since there are not many existing studies of the writings of Chinese Protestant Christians in the late Qing period, not to mention their interpretations of the Bible, the related area of the reception of the Bible by Republican theologians will also be given.

After the introductory chapters, Chapter 3 will first provide a sketch on the general reception of the Bible by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. By putting the Chinese Protestant Christians back into their socio-political context, their response to the political charges is demonstrated

⁶⁶ W. A. P. Martin, *A Cycle to Cathay* (Taipei: Cheng-Wen Pub. Co., 1966), 237.

⁶⁷ Cao Ziyu, "Cangguo Yuyan" (藏果寓言), in *WGGB* vol. 7, no. 314 (5/12/1874), 391.

in chapter 4. The Kingdom of Heaven is interpreted in different ways. Some Chinese Protestant Christians still adopt an apolitical view and emphasize that the Kingdom of Heaven is only for the dead. On the other hand, it is also believed that the Kingdom of Heaven is the vision for an ideal society, and Jesus' teaching is also understood as a key to social stability. The two very different conclusions shared the same concern of defending Christianity from the accusation of heterodoxy. In chapter 5, the Chinese Protestant Christians' attempt at explaining Christian morality is being expounded. The Chinese Protestant Christians did not only reinterpret the Bible in order to fit into the Chinese context, but also negated many Chinese practice. In addition to that, the Chinese Protestant Christians' attitude towards Confucianism will also be demonstrated. Besides the conclusion, the final chapter will also account for the limitations of the current research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Research on the history of Christianity in late Qing China started early. K. S. Latourette's *A History of Christian Missions in China*⁶⁸, published in 1929, became the classic because of its comprehensive account of missionary activities. Marshall Broomhall's *The Bible in China*⁶⁹, published in 1937, outlined the history of the translation of the Bible into Chinese. However, the Chinese Christian community itself has received little attention. John King Fairbank commented in 1985 that Chinese language documentary materials remain unused, and that the framework of cultural contact is not well developed, therefore knowledge of the Chinese Christian community is partial and incomplete.⁷⁰ Ying concluded in 1995 that the history of Christianity in China focused on two main areas: The negative reaction against Christianity, and the contribution of the missionaries.⁷¹ The reception of Christianity by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians is, to a large extent, ignored.

⁶⁸ K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009).

⁶⁹ Marshall Broomhall, *The Bible in China* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1934).

⁷⁰ J. K. Fairbank, "Introduction", in *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Published by the Committee on American-East Asian Relations of the Dept. of History in collaboration with the Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University, 1985), 3.

⁷¹ Ying Fuk Tsang, (邢福增), *Wenhua Shiying yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911 文化適應與中國基督徒 1860-1911* [Cultural Accommodation and Chinese Christians (1860-1911)]

The current research aims at exploring comprehensively the reception history of the Bible in the late Qing China (1860-1911) in the hope to understand the thoughts of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. This chapter will be divided into two parts, the first part will review previous works on the thoughts of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. And as there is not much research available on the interpretation of the Bible by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians, a comparison with the research on Wu Leichuan (吳雷川, 1870-1944) is done to show the limitation. Works that relate to the current research including works on the context of late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians will also be reviewed. In the second part, a methodological review is also included in accounting the influence of hermeneutical theories to this thesis and the problem of cultural differences.

2.1 Works on Chinese Protestant Christians in Late Qing

In this part, previous research on the Chinese Protestant Christian in late Qing China will first be reviewed. Since this research aimed at articulating the writings of Chinese Protestant Christians with their context, the works on the context of late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians will be provided in 2.1.2, and it is clear that the problems they faced were mainly political and cultural,

(Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1995), 21.

and these will be articulated to our sources in Chapter 4 and 5 respectively.

Finally, a brief sketch of the translation process of the Chinese Bible is provided in order to highlight two characteristics in their reception of the Bible, namely there were no authoritative translation of the Bible and the different theological assumptions implied in the translation. The consequences of these two characteristics on the general reception of the Bible will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1.1 Chinese Protestant Christians' Reception of the Bible

The current research aims at exploring comprehensively the reception history of the Bible in the late Qing China (1860-1911) in the hope to understand the thoughts of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. In order to achieve the aim, previous works on the thoughts of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians will be reviewed in part A of this section. And as there is not much research available on the interpretation of the Bible by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians, a comparison with the research on Wu Leichuan (吳雷川, 1870-1944) is done in part B to show the limitation.

A. Reception of the Bible by Chinese Protestant Christian in late Qing

Ying Fuk Tsang's work aimed at exploring the thoughts of Chinese Protestant Christians. His main sources come from the writings of Chinese

Protestant Christians on *JHXP* and *WGGB*. Lauren Pfister investigates the Bible commentaries written by the early Protestant, Ho Tsun sheen (何進善, or Ho Fuk Tong 何福堂, 1817-1871), the Hong Kong church leader, and Irene Eber's "Note on the Early Reception of the Old Testament" describes the Chinese Protestant Christians' reception of the Bible by introducing some works in the *Wanguo Gongbao*. These works are to be discussed below.

Ying suggests that the Chinese Protestant Christians accommodate Christianity into Chinese culture in order to solve the struggle between the two identities "Chinese" and "Christian". He discusses the Chinese Protestant Christians' viewpoints on three issues: Confucianism, ancestral worship, and science.⁷² Ying suggests that Chinese Protestant Christians tended to incorporate Confucianism and Christianity, although some believers stood against the idea and thought that Confucianism should be thrown away. This incorporation was aimed at strengthening the identity of the Chinese Protestant Christian, because he believes that Confucianism represented Chinese culture.⁷³ On the other hand, the majority of Chinese Protestant Christians opposed ancestral worship. Ancestral worship is viewed as an expression of filial piety and rooted in Confucianism. Ying observes that the

⁷² Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiying yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 116.

⁷³ Ibid, 117-8.

Chinese Protestant Christians on the one hand emphasized the virtue of filial piety, on the other hand suggests that worshipping is an act of superstition.⁷⁴

Ying focuses too much on the relationship of Confucianism and Christianity because he believes that Confucianism can represent the Chinese tradition.⁷⁵

The life and work of Ho Tsun Sheen is introduced to us by Lauren Pfister. Ho was educated in Malacca, baptized in 1838 and came to Hong Kong in 1843 with the missionary James Legge (1815-1897), he soon became an important church leader in the Union Church.⁷⁶ His good knowledge of Greek and English gave him a good understanding the New Testament. Pfister suggests that Ho originally planned to write a series of commentaries on the whole New Testament, but the project was not finished. Although Ho's work was finished before 1860 and therefore out of our scope, the framework Pfister used in analyzing Ho's writing is still valuable for reference.

Pfister suggests this framework: "Christianity as the essence, and Ruist culture as the means" to explain Ho's work. By Ruist culture, Pfister means the teaching promoted by the gentry.⁷⁷ Pfister discovered that Ho supported

⁷⁴ Ibid, 172.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 117.

⁷⁶ Lauren Pfister, "A Transmitter but Not a Creator Ho Tsun-sheen (1817-1871): The First Modern Chinese Protestant Theologian", in Irene Eber ed., *Bible in Modern China: the Literary and Intellectual Impact* (Sankt Agustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999), 179-180.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 166.

the use of *Shangdi* (上帝) in translating the name of God because he believed that Christian God is the *Shangdi* of the Confucian classics, and rejected the cosmology of Daoism and Buddhism.⁷⁸ In Ho's writing on the Ten Commandments, Pfister finds that he used the expression and style of the Chinese Classics and writings.⁷⁹ Ho's emphasis on the Sabbath indicated his devotion to Christianity.⁸⁰ In the issue of filial piety, Pfister discovers that Ho related it with the Confucian writings and concepts, but he denounced the practice of ancestral worship by reinterpreting the stories in the classics. Pfister concludes that it is the "appropriate scaffolding for a Chinese Protestant form of life."⁸¹

Although Pfister notices the differences between Confucian teachings and the popular culture in late imperial China, he still adopts the expression of "Ruist culture" to denote the popular culture. In Ho's case, the role Confucianism played is still important because he was familiar with the Confucian Classics. This is largely due to the influence of James Legge (1815-1897), a missionary who respected the Chinese Classics and was

⁷⁸ Ibid, 180.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 189.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 187-188.

⁸¹ Ibid, 192.

himself a Sinologist. But missionaries in other places and of other denominations often attributed different value to the Chinese Classics, and other Chinese Protestant Christians were not as knowledgeable as Ho. As a result, the cultural context of Ho and other Chinese Protestant Christians are not exactly the same. In addition, Ho lived in Hong Kong and died in 1871. Comparatively he received less accusation than those within our scope. The difference between the contexts is significant. Nevertheless, the study of the interaction between the two cultures should be developed.

Irene Eber's "Note on the Early Reception of the Old Testament" makes use of exegetical articles written by common Chinese Protestant Christians. In her work, Eber points out three issues: the tendency to relate the Christian ethical codes with the Chinese traditional ethic⁸², the attempt to harmonize the Bible and scientific knowledge brought by missionaries,⁸³ and the issue of naming God. Eber presents the poems on the Ten Commandments written by Chinese Protestant Christians, especially on the fifth and the ninth commandments, and points out that the main concern for the Chinese Protestant Christians is to prove that Christian ideas did not contradict

⁸² Irene Eber, "Note on the Early Reception of the Old Testament", in *Chinese and Jews: Encounters Between Cultures* (London; Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008), 111-112.

⁸³ Ibid, 113.

traditional ethical codes.⁸⁴ It seems that for her, the traditional ethical code is Confucianism.

A strong tendency to view the writings of Chinese Protestant Christians as struggles between Chinese culture (led by Confucianism) and Christianity is clear. Almost all the research mentions the Chinese Protestant Christians' efforts to reconcile Confucian morality with Christian morality, especially on filial piety, but the reason behind such emphasis is not clear. Ying believes that the effort to reconcile the two cultures came about because of the importance of the Confucian tradition in China, and the controversy over ancestral worship was the most urgent question for the Chinese Protestant Christians. In the following section, research on Wu Leichuan, a Chinese Protestant Christian of the early Republican era, is briefly described in order to show the limitation of the works above.

B. Reception of the Bible by Chinese Protestant Christian in Republican Era:

Wu Leichuan

Although Wu Leichuan became a Protestant Christian in the Republican Era, he spent more than half of his life under the rule of late Qing government. He had neither any knowledge of foreign languages nor any experience of

⁸⁴ Ibid, 112.

studying abroad. Therefore, his background is typical of a late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. However, as a traditional Confucian scholar who obtained the *Jinshi* (進士) degree in the late Qing period and worked in the *Hanlin Academy* (翰林院), Wu's understanding of Confucianism is obviously the scholar's understanding and different from the writers this research deals with.

Cai Yanren (蔡彥仁)'s article "Scriptural Interpretation and Cultural Interaction: The case of Wu Leichuan" suggests that Wu's interpretation of the Bible followed an essentialist approach because of the socio-cultural environment, and this reductionist tendency led to a presupposed conclusion. Cai suggests that Wu interpreted the Sermon on the Mount as a schema for the reconstruction of society, and it was because he has an essentialist understanding of religion, that the basic function of religion is to reconstruct the society, and Jesus' teaching hence was a teaching on revolution and changes for a better world.⁸⁵ He also suggests that Wu's interpretation of

⁸⁵ Cai Yanren (蔡彥仁), *Jingdian Quanshi yu Wenhua Huitong: yi Wu Leichuan Weili* 經典詮釋與文化匯通：以吳雷川為例 [Scriptural Interpretation and Cultural Interaction: The case of Wu Lei-chuan], in *Taiwan journal of east Asian studies* 台灣東亞文明研究學刊 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan Daixue Renmin Shehui Gaodeng Yanjiuyuan 國立臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院) vol. 1 no. 2 (12-2004): 318-321.

‘prayer’ and ‘rebirth’ in the Bible relate to ‘meditation’ and ‘discovering nature’ in the Confucian tradition.⁸⁶

Liang Hui analyzes Wu’s interpretation of the Lord’s Prayer in the Gospel of Luke. Defining Wu as a “Confucian-Christian”, Liang suggests that Wu employed traditional Confucian concepts in explaining the Bible. On the other hand, the urge for social reform and different social theories, especially socialism and communism, also affected Wu’s interpretation.⁸⁷ Liang discovers that Wu believed that the Kingdom of Heaven (*Tianguo*, 天國) signified a new society. She suggests that there are three reasons behind such an interpretation: First, in Confucian tradition, *Tian* denotes not a personal deity, but the source of ethical values. Second, scientism and Darwinism rejects the idea that the Kingdom of Heaven signified eternal life. Thirdly, the social crisis urged Wu to search for a practical “new society”.⁸⁸ In her point of view, Wu did not highlight the uniqueness of Christianity and the Bible. Wu read his own meaning into the text. Although Liang does not use the word

⁸⁶ Ibid, 315-317.

⁸⁷ Grace Hui Liang, “Interpreting the Lord’s Prayer from a Confucian-Christian Perspective: Wu Leichuan’s Practice and Contribution to Chinese Biblical Hermeneutics”, in Chloë Starr ed., *Reading Christian scriptures in China* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 120-122.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 121.

‘eisegesis’, she implies it by stating: “Wu and his contemporaries’ biblical readings are more a kind of interpretation than exegesis”⁸⁹.

Liang first suggests that Wu’s interpretation is different from the traditional historical and theological interpretation because of his “dual identity”. For her, Biblical verses have an “original meaning”, and because of the identity and cultural context of Wu, some “new meanings” were added into the text.⁹⁰ It then becomes a problem of mathematics: by subtracting the original meaning from Wu’s interpretation, Wu’s new meaning can be found. However, the claim that the traditional historical meaning is the “original meaning” lacks legitimacy. Indeed, the original meaning of the text cannot be found since every interpretation has its own context. It reminds us that we cannot simply judge the interpretations of the late Qing Chinese via our own interpretations.

John Y. H. Yieh also suggests that “Wu’s hermeneutic circle always begins with the concerns and needs of his nation’s suffering in stress and crisis”.⁹¹ Yieh’s article further examines Wang Mingdao (王明道, 1900-91)

⁸⁹ Ibid, 124; 129.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 119.

⁹¹ John Y. H. Yieh, “Reading the Sermon on the Mount in China: a Hermeneutical Enquiry into its History of Reception”, in Chloë Starr ed., *Reading Christian scriptures in China*, 148.

and Ding Guangxun (丁光訓, 1915-), and suggests that these Chinese church leaders held different interpretation regarding the Sermon on the Mount.

While Wu suggested that the Sermon on the Mount is a practical guideline to reform Chinese society and a basic method for the cultivation of personality,⁹²

Wang Mingdao, the leader of the conservative trend in Chinese Protestant Christian churches in the 20th Century, rejected Wu's social gospel agenda.

Wang believed that humanity had become so depraved by sin that it could not help saving anyone, not to mention the whole country.⁹³ The late 20th Century church leader Ding Guangxun emphasized the moral value and "love" in the sermon in order to call for social justice. Ding believed that Jesus inherited the prophetic tradition of illuminating social righteousness and social injustice.⁹⁴

Yieh suggests that because of the different presuppositions and motifs, the interpretation of the three church leaders have remarkable differences.⁹⁵

It is obvious that in understanding Wu's interpretation, scholars focus on how social crisis and dominant ideologies urged Wu to interpret the teaching of Jesus as a program to transform society, and how traditional Confucian concepts dominated his understanding of the Bible. Demonstrated as above, it

⁹² Ibid, 147.

⁹³ Ibid, 150.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 156.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

is clear that there are three factors affecting the interpretation of Wu Leichuan: his traditional educational background of Confucianism, his social context which demanded reform, and new ideas and dominant ideologies. It is because his nation was suffering in stress and crisis that he sought reform for China, and it is because of the tradition of Confucianism that he believed that cultivation of the self is related to the reform of the nation, and it is the dominant ideologies like liberalism and socialism that led him to such interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. Comparing him with the research on late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians, it is clear that scholars only emphasize the influence of cultural heritage, the influence of the socio-political context is ignored. Regarding this limitation, the current research will focus on the interaction between Chinese Protestant Christians and their socio-political situation. Therefore, works on the context of late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians will be reviewed below.

2.1.2 Historical Context of Chinese Protestant Christians

There are three main areas of discussion that form the context of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians:

A.) The biographies of Chinese Protestant Christians and the growth of the local church indicate the background of the Chinese Protestant Christian writers.

B.) The attacks on missionaries in which Chinese Protestant Christians were the victims remind us of the origin of the hostility the Chinese Protestant Christians faced; and

C.) The Chinese Protestant Christians' participation in late Qing politics can demonstrate how they tried to change the socio-political situation.

A.) The Late Qing Chinese Protestant Christian Community

There are not many studies on the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christian community. Jessie Lutz's investigation on the Hakka Chinese community and David Cheung's investigation of the church in Amoy highlight the characteristics of some of the Chinese Protestant Christians. Although none of the Chinese Protestant Christian writers belonged to the communities they analyzed, the diverse opinions on the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians should be borne in mind. Carl Smith also highlights some characteristics of the Hong Kong Chinese Christians in the late Qing period. On the other hand, studies on individual Chinese Protestant Christians in the late Qing provide us with biographies on some late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians.

Jessie Lutz discovers that the majority of Chinese Protestant Christians in the early period were Hakka people. He shows that early Basel Mission had recruited Chinese Evangelists and these local evangelists highly contributed to the growth of the Hakka Chinese Protestant Christian community.⁹⁶ The Hakkas were marginalized in traditional Chinese society, and Christianity saved them from their social and personal crises.⁹⁷ However, Lutz also points out that the theological stances of these Chinese Protestant Christians were different from those of their missionary teachers. While pietistic missionary Theodore Hamberg believed that the effort to “strive to harmonize the views of Confucius as much as possible with Biblical teaching...giving the latter a false meaning unless one points out that Confucius is, on this point or that, in error”⁹⁸, the Chinese Protestant Christians retained their own faith.⁹⁹ It shows that the Hakka Chinese Protestant Christians did not give up Confucianism after they became Christians. On the contrary, David Cheung shows us the missionaries’ confidence in the local Chinese workers.¹⁰⁰ Cheung investigates

⁹⁶ Jessie Lutz and R. Lutz, The Invisible China Missionaries; The Basel Mission’s Chinese Evangelists 1847-66, in *Mission Studies*, vol. 12 no. 2 (1995): 223.

⁹⁷ Jessie Lutz and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confronts Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900: with the autobiographies of eight Hakka Christians, and commentary* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 187-192.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 62.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 241.

¹⁰⁰ David Cheung, *Christianity in Modern China: the Making of the First Native*

individual foreign missionaries was especially strong.¹⁰⁴ He highlights the fact that Christianity and some traditional Chinese ideas were in contradiction, and this aroused difficulties for the Chinese Christians. He emphasizes the idea of filial piety relating to ancestral worship and the status of women in traditional Chinese societies.¹⁰⁵

Zha Shijie published a book on the biographies of Chinese Protestant Christians in 1983.¹⁰⁶ In his work, he provides short biographies for forty Chinese Protestant Christians. Only thirteen of them are from the late Qing period. Ten out of these thirteen were pastors. The three who were not pastors included Wang Yuanshen (王元深, 1817-1914), who refused to accept the post of pastor but actively served in the church,¹⁰⁷ Ou Fengchi (區鳳墀, 1847-1914), a senior Protestant Christian in the church of Hong Kong, and Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙, 1866-1925), the revolutionary leader. It is clear that he only introduces the leaders of the church, and the lives of other Protestant Christians are ignored. The limitations of his work are obvious. The

¹⁰⁴ Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 181.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 195-209.

¹⁰⁶ Zha Shijie (查時傑), *Zhongguo Jidujiao Renwu Xiaozhuan* 中國基督教人物小傳 [Concise Biographies of Important Chinese Christians] (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1983).

¹⁰⁷ Zha Shijie, *Zhongguo Jidujiao Renwu Xiaozhuan*, 7.

Christian-centric view is implicit in both his views and his wordings. Without articulating their lives with their social and cultural situation, the Chinese Protestant Christian leaders are heroes and martyrs in his book. For him, Chinese converts to Protestant Christianity mainly because they realized that Christianity was the only real doctrine. Wang Pinsan (黃品三) left Daoism because he discovered under the guidance of missionaries that Daoism is false.¹⁰⁸ Xi Shengmo (席勝魔, 1835-1896) even gave up smoking opium because of Christianity.¹⁰⁹ His work serves only as a historical record.

Leung Yuen Sang recently finished an investigation on some Chinese Protestant Christian leaders in Shanghai.¹¹⁰ He briefly sketched the lives of Liu Zhusong (劉竹松), Wang Jinxia (黃近霞), Wang Pinsan, Wang Yisan (黃益三), Cao Zishi (曹子實), Wang Tao (王韜), Yan Yongjing (顏永京) and Shen Yugui (沈毓桂). In sketching their lives, Leung adopted the framework of acculturation to explain their adoption of Christianity. He points out that these Chinese Protestant Christians used Chinese in recording church events and kept using the Chinese calendar,¹¹¹ at the same time as they accepted

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 17.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 23-24.

¹¹⁰ Leung Yuen Sang (梁元生), *Wanqing Shanghai: yi ge Chengshi de Lishi Jiyi* 晚清上海：一個城市的歷史記憶 [Shanghai in Late Qing: The Historical Memory of a City] (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2009), 133-153.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 142.

Christianity and knew well about Western manners. He termed this attitude “bi-culturality”.¹¹²

It can be observed that these works tends to emphasize the cultural differences between Chinese culture and Christianity as the first and foremost barrier to the Chinese accepting Christianity. As Lutz suggests, the early Chinese Protestant Christians did not throw Confucianism away while accepting Christianity. In the eyes of pietistic missionaries, this is the evidence of the low quality of Chinese Protestant Christians. The tension between Christianity and Chinese traditional values is not only limited to the early Chinese Protestant Christians, as Smith and Zha’s works shows. Zha’s account is under a Christian bias, and as he only introduces the church leaders and staff, it may not be able to represent the majority of the common Chinese Protestant Christians in the late Qing period, but cultural conflicts were still obvious in the conversion process of Wang Yuanshen and Wang Pinsan. Leung, through his investigation of the Shanghai Christians, demonstrates that the Chinese Protestant Christians of the late Qing adopted Christianity without throwing away their traditional lifestyle. In the eyes of most of the scholars,

¹¹² Ibid, 147-148.

late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians live under the tension between Chinese traditions and Christianity throughout the late Qing period.

B. The Conflicts between Christianity, the Chinese and Missionary Cases

The Chinese reception of Christianity in the late Qing was mainly negative. Accusations were made against Christianity, and there were more than 1000 “missionary cases”¹¹³ in the late Qing period. Although named *Jiao'an* (教案) in Chinese, these “missionary cases” in the late Qing period were different from the ban on Catholic missionaries in the late Ming and early Qing periods. While the latter were initiated by government officials aiming at expelling foreign missionaries, the former were initiated by common people and supported by the local gentry. Both missionaries and Chinese converts were tortured and killed in these missionary cases. Research on these missionary cases tried to find out the origin of conflicts between Chinese and Christianity.

Paul Cohen recounts the development of the anti-missionary sentiment in the period 1860-1870. Starting from 1860, missionaries were allowed to preach in the inland areas of China. Cohen believes that although both the Chinese government and the foreign countries tried to regulate the

¹¹³ Also known as “Religious Cases”.

missionaries' activities in China, the effort ended in failure. The Chinese officials were paralyzed because they dared not openly oppose either the foreigners in defiance of imperial instruction, or local gentries who had the support of populace.¹¹⁴ The foreign governments lost their patience over the rise of anti-missionary activities and the inability of the Qing government to protect the treaty rights.¹¹⁵ The Tianjian Massacre signified that the Qing government could no longer handle the problems between Christianity and Chinese society.

There were different immediate causes of missionary cases. The missionaries' abuse of their position antagonized both local people and the government,¹¹⁶ and the missionary intervention in different aspects of Qing society harmed the interests of local gentry and bureaucrats. Thus the main resistance Christianity met in China was from Chinese bureaucrats and gentry.¹¹⁷ However, Cohen believes that the origin of the Chinese-missionary conflict lies in the hostility towards heterodoxy in Confucian culture: the

¹¹⁴ Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), 184.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 186.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 128.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 82-86; 113-4.

tradition of expelling heterodox teaching which has a long history in Confucianism.¹¹⁸

Lu Shiqiang does not agree with Cohen. Instead, Lu believes that there are no conflicts between Confucianism and Christianity. The usage of Confucian concepts in the anti-Christian discourse is due to Chinese misunderstanding of Christian doctrines.¹¹⁹ Lu further suggests that the relationship between Christian missions and Western imperialism is one of the main factors in the missionary cases. Observing the missionaries' intervention in the judicial system and the return of Catholic property, Lu argues that imperialism underlies the missionaries' abuse of rights. Both their attitude and the missionaries' reliance on the gunboats of their mother countries antagonized commoners in China. Lu believes that the other main factors in the missionary cases were superstition and the corrupt customs of local gentries and officials. Non-Christians mistreated the Chinese Christians because the Chinese Protestant Christians did not participate in the rituals of popular religion, and rumors about Christianity find their origin in the

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 3-18.

¹¹⁹ Lu Shiqiang (呂實強), *Zhongguo Guanshen Fanjiao de Yuanyin 1861-1874* 中國官紳反教的原因(一八六一-一八七四) [Reasons of the Chinese Bureaucrats and Gentries' Opposition towards Christianity (1861-1874)] (Taipei : Zhongguo xue shu zhu zuo jiang zhu wei yuan hui, 1966), 6.

superstitions of alchemy and other popular religions.¹²⁰ From the point of view of the study of religion, the concept of “superstition” is problematic. It is true that the Chinese Christians were mistreated because they did not participate in the rituals, but it signifies that they were expelled from their original community. The rumors can also be seen as part of a conflict between religions. Nevertheless, Lu agrees that the privileges of the local gentry reflect the corruption of government,¹²¹ and these privileges were threatened by the missionaries. Furthermore, the corruption of Qing bureaucracy also led to missionary cases.¹²² In another article entitled “The Suspicion on the Aims of Christian Mission in China by the late Qing Chinese Intellectuals (1860-1898)”, Lu suggests that some intellectuals believed that the aim of the missions was to conquer China.¹²³

Li Enhan suggests that the accusations against Christian missionaries were similar throughout the late Qing period. However, he points out that the anti-missionary movements before 1862 were all started by the

¹²⁰ Ibid, 132-150.

¹²¹ Ibid, 165-6.

¹²² Ibid, 171.

¹²³ Lu Shiqiang, “Wenqing Zhongguo Zhishi Fenzi Dui Jidujiao Zai Hua Chuanjiao Mude de Yiju (1860-1898)” 晚清中國知識份子對基督教在華傳教目的的疑懼 (1860-1898) [The Suspicion on the Aims of Christian Mission in China by the late Qing Chinese Intellectuals (1860-1898)], in *Taiwan shi da li shi xue bao* 臺灣師大歷史學報 (Taipei: Guo li Taiwan shi fan da xue li shi xue xi) vol. 3 (1975): 149-153.

government,¹²⁴ whereas the anti-missionary movements after 1862 involved many commoners.¹²⁵ Li suggests that this is because Christianity was permitted to preach in the whole of China after 1860, and missionaries started to depend on military backing in their activities.¹²⁶ In addition, the quality of Chinese Protestant Christians was low, therefore hatred towards Christianity grew. Li summarizes the accusations against Christianity into four categories: Christian mission is part of foreign aggression; the teachings of Christianity conflict with Confucianism; Christian doctrines did not make sense; and Christian missionaries practiced sorcery and magic.¹²⁷ Compared with that of Lu and Cohen, Li's analysis is superficial. All four categories are interwoven and together form the accusation that Christianity is equals to heterodoxy.

Chen Yinkun completes quantitative research on missionary cases between 1860 and 1900, and he concludes that the missionary cases are a social movement that aimed at reconstructing the traditional cultural

¹²⁴ Li Enhan (李恩涵), "Xianfeng Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun" 咸豐年間反基督教的言論 [The accusations against Christianity in the Xianfeng Period], in Liu Xiaofeng ed., *Dao yu Yan: Huaxia Wenhua yu Jidu Wenhua Xiangyu* 道與言：華夏文化與基督教文化相遇 [Principle and Logos: The meeting of Chinese Culture and Christian Culture] (Shanghai: Joint Publisher, 1995), 166.

¹²⁵ Li Enhan, "Tongzhi Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun" 同治年間反基督教的言論 [The accusations against Christianity in the Tong-zhi Period], in Liu Xiaofeng ed., *Dao yu Yan: Huaxia Wenhua yu Jidu Wenhua Xiangyu*, 217-218.

¹²⁶ Li Enhan, "Tongzhi Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun", 220-221.

¹²⁷ Li Enhan, "Xianfeng Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun", 143.

identity.¹²⁸ Chen agrees that the main cause of missionary cases was cultural conflict, but not a conflict between Confucianism and Christianity. Chen adopts the concept “cultural identity” and believes that missionary cases were a kind of nativist movement which aimed at protecting a particular cultural identity.¹²⁹ He agrees that the movement was led by gentry and officials in the early period, and it was mainly caused by misunderstanding between cultures. However, the influence of gentries, officials and government faded out later for two reasons: first, after the two cultures had become familiar with each other, conflicts naturally decreased; second, the government discovered that the conflicts would only increase trouble for the government itself. Therefore, instead of supporting people in making conflicts, they started to suppress conflicts, and without the lead of officials and gentry, it became a popular movement.¹³⁰ In the later period, nationalism became the main catalyst of the anti-missionary movement, therefore the number of missionary cases increased significantly following foreign aggressions.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Chen Yinkun (陳銀崑), *Qingji Minjiao Chongtu de Lianghua Fenxi: 1860-1899* 清季民教衝突的量化分析: 1860-1899 [A Quantitative Analysis on the conflicts of missionary and Chinese in the late Qing Period] (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1991), 29.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 206.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 93-4.

¹³¹ Ibid, 94.

From the above observations, it can be seen that the Chinese Protestant Christians were living in a hostile social context. Christianity as a whole received numerous accusations, as did the Chinese Christians. It is believed that these accusations originated from cultural conflicts, although different scholars held different definitions of the concept “culture”. Cohen suggests that the ideological differentiation of orthodoxy and heterodoxy originates in Confucianism, while Lu believes that there are no conflicts between Confucianism and Christianity. Lu uses the term “superstition” to categorize the rituals, beliefs and ideology of Chinese commoners. Chen uses the idea of “cultural identity” and social movements to frame the missionary cases. In addition, there are no agreements on the content of Confucianism, and the boundaries between Confucianism and popular culture is blurred.

C. Chinese Protestant Christians’ Participation in Politics

The relationship between Christianity and late Qing politics is a hot topic, but there is little concern on the political participation of the Chinese Christians during the late Qing period. Scholars have been more concerned with the missionaries’ role in the modernization of China. However, Chinese Christians, particularly Protestant Christians, did, indeed, play important roles both in reforms and revolutions. There are two main approaches in the study

of the late Qing politics and Christianity: the role of missionaries in the modernization process; and the role of Chinese Christians in the late Qing period. The first part is important for the current research especially on the discussion of establishing mission schools, and the political participation of early Chinese Protestant Christians will also be discussed.

The contribution of missionaries is often discussed. The criticism of “cultural colonialism” is especially popular in the Marxist-nationalist perspective,¹³² but it is a minority opinion. Besides the direct participation in the reform movements of missionaries Timothy Richard, W. A. P. Martin and Young John Allen, the missionaries contributed to the modernization process by educating generations of Chinese intellectual in mission schools. Carl Smith points out the contribution of mission schools in Hong Kong, that they provided the elites and middlemen of late Qing China. In the late Qing period, knowledge of English became especially important. Graduates like the Tong Brothers¹³³, the compradores of the late Qing period, and Sun Yat-sen (孫逸

¹³² See for example Gu Changsheng (顧長聲), *Chuanjiaoshi yu Jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 [Missionaries and Modern China] (Shanghai : Shanghai ren min chu ban she: Xin hua shu dian Shanghai fa xing suo fa xing, 1981).

¹³³ Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong*, 34-51.

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¹³³ Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong*, 34-51.

仙, 1866-1925), the ‘father of Modern China’, played important role in the modernization process of China.

Leung Ka Lun published his work on the education enterprise of Christian missions in Guangdong in 1993.¹³⁴ His work introduces the development of education in Guangdong, and he focuses not only on higher education, but also on schools of different denominations and levels. Christian education aimed at preaching and training assistants for missionaries¹³⁵, but it brought great changes to traditional Chinese society. Leung emphasizes that the mission schools attracted the marginalized people of traditional Chinese society.¹³⁶ These people were further marginalized after graduation because they found that the education they received from the missionaries was totally different from traditional Chinese schooling. They finally stayed with the missionaries and even their marriages were arranged by the missionaries.¹³⁷ It was only after the beginning of the self-strengthening movement (1863-1895) that the graduates from the mission school started to participate in Chinese

¹³⁴ Leung Ka Lun (梁家麟), *Guangdong Jidujiao Jiaoyu: 1807-1953* 廣東基督教教育: 1807-1953 [Christian Education in Guangdong: 1807-1953] (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1993).

¹³⁵ Ibid, 65-67.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 169-170.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 174-176.

government, and the status of Chinese Protestant Christians was raised¹³⁸

Leung further suggests that the Chinese Protestant Christians' participation in revolutionary activities was highly influenced by the missionaries.¹³⁹ And through the work of other scholars like Ng Tsz Ming (吳梓明)¹⁴⁰ and Tao Feiya (陶飛亞)¹⁴¹, it is also clear that the Chinese traditional scholarship is not emphasized by missionaries.

There are works on famous Chinese Protestant Christians like Ho Kai (何啓, 1859-1914), Wu Tingfang (伍廷芳, also known as Ng Choy, 1842-1922) and Sun Yat-sen, and works on the Christian contribution to the Chinese revolution. However, works on Christian reformists are yet to be written.

Although there are several works on Ho Kai, the Protestant Christian reformer, researchers often ignore the Christian influence in his reform program. G. H. Choa totally ignores the Christian background in the discussion of Ho's reform programs and writings.¹⁴² Lee Kam Keung

¹³⁸ Ibid, 177-181.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 182.

¹⁴⁰ Ng Tsz Ming (吳梓明), *Jidu Zongjiao yu Zhongguo Daxue Jiaoyu* 基督宗教與中國大學教育 [Christianity and university education in China] (Beijing: Zhongguo she hui ke xue chu ban she, 2003).

¹⁴¹ Tao Fei Ya (陶飛亞), Ng Tsz Ming (吳梓明), *Jidujiao Daxue yu Guoxue Yanjiu* 基督教大學與國學研究 [Christian University and the Chinese Studies] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiao yu chu ban she, 1998).

¹⁴² G. H. Choa, *The life and times of Sir Kai Ho Kai: a prominent figure in nineteenth-century Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981), 125-154.

suggests that Christianity and the Western educational system in Hong Kong were significant in shaping his ideas, but Christianity only served as a channel for him to understand the Western world. Recently Law Wing Sang investigates Ho as part of the system of collaborative colonialism in Hong Kong and suggests that through the imperialism inherited in Christianity and colonialism, the unique identity of Ho Kai as a reformist patriot of China was formed.¹⁴³ Ho was the teacher of Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary leader, and he even helped arrange the first meeting of the revolutionary party Xingzhonghui (興中會), but he is a reformist. His reform program can be seen in his work *Xinzheng Zhenquan* (新政真詮).¹⁴⁴ Similarly, Wu Tingfang, the husband of Ho Kai's sister, is not mentioned as a Chinese Protestant Christian in the work of Zhang Liheng.¹⁴⁵ Wu studied in St. Paul's College in Hong Kong, and married Ho Miu Ling (何妙齡), the daughter of Ho Tsun Sheen. Wu was a minister under Qing dynasty, but he became a supporter of

¹⁴³ Law Wing Sang, *Collaborative Colonial Power: the Making of Hong Kong Chinese* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 91.

¹⁴⁴ Ho Kai (何啟) and Hu Liyuan (胡禮垣), Zheng Dahua ed., *Xinzheng Zhenquan* 新政真詮 [The Real Interpretation on the New Politics] (Shenyang: Liaoning ren min chu ban she, 1994).

¹⁴⁵ Zhang Liheng (張禮恆), *Cong Xifang Dao Dongfang: Wu Tingfang yu Zhongguo Jindai Shehui de Yanjin* 從西方到東方：伍廷芳與中國近代社會的演進 [From the West to the East: Wu Ting-fang and the evolution of Chinese Modern Society] (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan you xian gong si, 2005).

Sun Yat-sen soon after the 1911 revolution. It is hard to determine whether he was a reformist or a revolutionary. Through the above observation, it is seen that the research on Chinese Christian reformists is lacking, and seldom highlights the importance of Christian thought.

On the contrary, the Christian background of Sun Yat-sen, the “father of Modern China”, is highly emphasized by Christian researchers. Luo Xianglin (羅香林, 1905-1978) emphasizes the religious background of Sun¹⁴⁶, and Feng Ziyou (馮自由, 1881-1958), himself also a Christian revolutionary, demonstrates the history of Sun as a Christian in his work.¹⁴⁷ These works take great pains to show that Christianity deeply shaped the thought of Sun.

Some scholars disagree with the importance of Christianity in Sun’s revolution. Although Lyon Sharman highlights the Christian background of Sun, and points out that 65% of the new officials in Guangdong were said to be Christians in 1912¹⁴⁸, he comments that except in the illuminating Western education Christianity gave him, the missionaries had no part in Sun’s choice

¹⁴⁶ Luo Xianglin (羅香林), *Guofu zai Xianggang zhi Lishi Yiji* 國父在香港之歷史遺蹟 [The Historical Heritage of the Father of China in Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Zhu hai shu yuan, 1971); *Guofu zhi Daxue Shidai* 國父之大學時代 [The University Life of the Father of China] (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1971).

¹⁴⁷ Feng Ziyou (馮自由), “Sun Zongli Xinfeng Yesujiao zhi Jingguo” 孫總理信奉耶穌教之經過 [The Course of Premier Sun’s conversion to Christianity], in *Geming Yishi* 革命逸史 [Anecdotes of Revolution] vol. 2 (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1953), 10-18.

¹⁴⁸ Lyon Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen: His Life and Its Meaning* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934), 135.

of the life of a revolutionary in the service of China.¹⁴⁹ Harold Schiffrin's work *Sun Yat-sen and the Origin of the Chinese Revolution* recounts Sun's participation in revolutionary activities until 1905. He admits that the role of the missionary institutions in the revolutions was important.¹⁵⁰ The rebel leadership in Canton was dominated by Christians and during the 1900 revolt over 30% of participants in revolutionary activities were Chinese Christians.¹⁵¹ However, he does not claim that Christian teachings drove Sun into revolution directly. In the same revolt, 70% of participants were Triad members. Some participants were both Chinese Christians and members of Triad societies. Schiffrin believes that Christianity and triad societies were simply institutions that bound together the revolutionary community. This community was not formed of peasants, but mainly of Chinese intellectuals¹⁵², and they were driven to revolution by Western influence.¹⁵³ Carl Smith also suggests that Sun's baptism brought him to a circle of special China-coast Christian elites. This group of elites was formed with the help of the overseas

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 326.

¹⁵⁰ Harold Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 22.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 229.

¹⁵² Ibid, 9.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 54-55.

Chinese Christians and thus had a close connection to the overseas Chinese Christians. Because of the educational background of these elites, they were sympathetic towards constitutional government, and longing for change China.¹⁵⁴

Leung Sau Wah's work further accounts for the participation of Chinese Protestant Christians in revolutionary activities after the 1890s. Although the life of Sun makes up a large part of the book, Leung also demonstrates the contribution of the Protestant church and Chinese Protestant Christians in different revolutionary movements. He explores the contribution of Ho Kai , Lu Haodong (陸皓東, 1868-1895) and Ou Fengchi (區鳳墀, 1847-1914).¹⁵⁵ In addition to Xingzhonghui activities, he also points out the Christian influence of the revolt of Daming Shuntian Guo (大明順天國) in 1903, which leaders were mainly members of Xing Zhong Hui and the remnants of the Taiping Rebellion.¹⁵⁶ The revolt aimed at constructing a republic in which Rong Hong (容闳, 1828-1912) would become the president.¹⁵⁷ Leung points

¹⁵⁴ Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong*, 92-97.

¹⁵⁵ Leung Sau Wah (梁壽華), *Geming Xianqu: Jidutu yu Wan Qing Zhongguo Geming de Qiyuan* 革命先驅：基督徒與晚清中國革命的起源 [Pioneers of the Chinese revolution : Christians and the origins of the late Qing revolution] (Hong Kong: Xuan dao chu ban she, 2007), 86; 87-88; 109-117.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 287-290.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 297.

out that Chinese Protestant Christians were leaders of revolutionary activities until 1907, and they were still active in revolutionary activities afterwards.¹⁵⁸

Leung maintains that Christianity was only the starter of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Protestant Christians participated individually in revolutionary activities. Hence, it is not correct to say that the Chinese revolution was a Protestant Christian revolution.¹⁵⁹ However, the influence of Christianity should not be underestimated. Chinese Protestant Christians believed that Christian values and ideals could help save individuals and reform China, and the political reality of China at that time contradicted the Christian doctrines accepted by the patriots. Anti-Manchu sentiment was formed and revolutions broke out.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the revolutionary activities of Chinese Protestant Christians were of a Christian origin.¹⁶¹

The previous discussion on the participation in politics by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians is, clearly, not enough. Through the above sketch, it seems that Christianity did not lead the Chinese Protestant Christians to play any important role in the late Qing political scene, although

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 16.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 13.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 353.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 357.

many Chinese elites in the late Qing period were graduates of the mission schools. Schiffrin believes that Christian doctrines simply signified the Western orientation of these revolutionaries, and it is this Western orientation that made the Chinese Protestant Christian revolutionaries different from the traditional peasant revolutionaries. The relationship between Christian teachings and the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians' participation in politics is, to a large extent, ignored.

Through the above sketch of the literature on the context of Chinese Protestant Christians, two important conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, scholars agreed that cultural gap between Chinese traditional culture and Christianity is almost the most important problem faced by the Chinese Protestant, no matter how they define "culture". The problem is both cultural and political, for they faced not only accusations, expel from communities, but also semi-official persecution. Second, Christianity helped Chinese modernization and even revolution by providing a picture of an ideal society, values of a utopia, and by leading them to understand the Western world. The current research will examine the works of Chinese Protestant Christians in the light of the above two conclusions.

2.1.3 History of Translation of the Chinese Bible

The reception of the Bible by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians was also highly dependent on how the Bible was translated into Chinese. As Lu Congzhou (路從周), one of the Chinese Protestant Christians, suggested in early 1870s, most of the Chinese Protestant Christians did not even understand English.¹⁶² Hence, they could only read the Bible in Chinese translation. However, there were quite a few translations of the Bible in late Qing China. Different translations were produced because of theological conflicts between different translators. Therefore it is important to understand the situation of the translation process of the Bible in late Qing China. The sketch of the process is mainly based on two works: *The Bible in China: the History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*¹⁶³ by Jost Zetzsche; and *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5:1-12 and Col 1*¹⁶⁴ by Thor Strandenaes.

The translation process of the Chinese Union Version is the main object of Zetzsche's study. Zetzsche sketches the whole course of the history of

¹⁶² Lu Congzhou (路從周), "Questions from brethen Lu from Lingpo" (寧波路教友來問), *JHXP*, 1 (1868): 346.

¹⁶³ Jost Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999).

¹⁶⁴ Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5:1-12 and Col 1* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wilsell International, 1987).

translation of the Bible into Chinese in order to provide a historical context for the translation work of the Chinese Union Version. However, his work is more historical record than historical research. He collects as many sources as possible and portrays them all in his book, but his argument is not clear. On the other hand, Strandenaes aims at examining the translation theories of five different Chinese translations of the Bible, including the Morrison-Milne, the Delegates' Version, the Chinese Union Version, the version prepared by the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense, and the Today's New Version.¹⁶⁵ He compares the textual basis, linguistic style and features, and term adaptations of Matthew 5:1-12 and Colossians 1 from the New Testament as these contained difficulties in translation and thus the translator's theories can be examined.¹⁶⁶ Through his work, the translators' decisions on employing terms are understood better. Only the Morrison-Milne version and the Delegates' Version were produced before 1907.

There were two versions of the Chinese Bible produced before 1830: Marshman-Lassar's translation in 1822 and Morrison-Milne's version named *Shentian Shengshu* (神天聖書) in 1823. A revision of Morrison's version was

¹⁶⁵ Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5: 1-12 and Col 1*, 17.

¹⁶⁶ Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5: 1-12 and Col 1*, 18-19.

finished by W. H. Medhurst (1796-1857), J. R. Morrison, the son of Robert Morrison, and Charles Gützlaff (1803-1851).¹⁶⁷ This revision of the New Testament was not supported by the British and Foreign Bible Society, but Gützlaff continued his revision of the Old Testament by himself.¹⁶⁸ Gützlaff's translation was quite popular among the Chinese and was presumably adopted by the Taiping Rebellion as canonical.¹⁶⁹

Missionaries decided to make a new translation in 1843. The Committee of Delegates was formed in 1850, including W. Boone (1811-1864) of the American Episcopal Missionary Board; Medhurst, W. Milne (1815-1863) and J. Stronach (1810-1888) of the LMS; and E. Bridgman (1801-1861) of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission.¹⁷⁰ The inter-denominational and international constitution of the committee hints that the project aimed at producing a Chinese Bible that could be used by all missions in China. However, conflict occurred over the translation of the name of God. Boone and Bridgman suggested the use of *Shen* (神) and the

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 49-50.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 58-60.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 62-64.

¹⁷⁰ Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5: 1-12 and Col 1*, 48.

others chose *Shangdi* (上帝).¹⁷¹ Boone and Bridgman's opinion was not accepted and this led to the split of the delegate committee after finishing the New Testament. With the help of M. Culbertson (1819-1862), Bridgman carried on the translation work to produce another Chinese Bible. It is also worth mentioning that the Delegate's Version was finished with the help of Wang Tao (王韜, 1828-1897), a Chinese scholar. As Strandenaes comments, the Delegates' Version employed the vocabulary that was "commonly used in Chinese",¹⁷² "relevant for the Chinese readers of the 1850s"¹⁷³ and "is decodable for readers with some knowledge of Literary Chinese".¹⁷⁴ In addition, Wang Tao is one of the Chinese Protestant Christian writers this research deals with. The Delegate's Version was popular in late Qing China, and was twice presented to the Qing court.¹⁷⁵ All Translations mentioned above were printed before 1860 and used by the majority of Chinese Protestant Christians.

¹⁷¹ Jost Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, 82-90; 98.

¹⁷² Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5: 1-12 and Col 1*, 67.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 69.

¹⁷⁵ Jost Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, 103, quoted from *Chinese Recorder* 1895, 150-161; 1909, 587f; 1910, 758; and 1911, 134f and 184f.

After 1860, the missionaries started to translate the Bible into Mandarin Chinese (官話), which was the spoken language of Beijing people and the lingua franca of Chinese officials. Joseph Edkins (1823-1905), W. A. P. Martin (1827-1916), J. Burdon (1827-1907), H. Blodget (1825-1903) and S. I. J. Schereschewsky (1831-1906) formed a committee for translating the Bible into Mandarin.¹⁷⁶ And a kind of simplified classical style, named “Easy Wenli (淺文理)” or “Southern Mandarin (南方官話), was adopted by missionaries working in the southern region of China.¹⁷⁷ Griffith John (1831-1912), Burdon and Blodget were responsible for different translation projects.¹⁷⁸ Schereschewsky also finished a translation of Easy Wenli Chinese in 1897. He used the Hebrew text as the main source text for the translation work of the Old Testament.¹⁷⁹ It is not known whether the Chinese Protestant Christian writers referred to these simpler translations in understanding the Bible, but it is clear that no Chinese Protestant Christian writers quoted them in writing their articles.

¹⁷⁶ Jost Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, 146.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 161.

¹⁷⁸ Jost Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, 163-178.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 152-153; 180.

At the General Conference of the Protestant missionaries of China in 1890, the missionaries agreed to produce a translation that could be accepted by all denominations.¹⁸⁰ Finally, they agreed to make three versions of the Chinese Bible including High Wenli, Easy Wenli and Mandarin versions. The Union Versions were finally published in 1919. It is clear that the Chinese Protestant Christians did not share a common Chinese translation of the Bible in the late Qing period. Different translations have their own theological assumptions, and these hidden assumptions would absolutely affect the understanding of the Chinese Protestant Christians.

One of the examples is Xie Hengtao's (謝亨韜) article entitled "On the Practice of Benevolence (論仁之實行)". The article explored the verse "And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins" (1 Pet. 4: 8), and Xie elaborated on the benefits of practicing benevolence. It is important to note that the Chinese translation Xie adopted is the Delegates' version, which translated as "[You] must practice benevolence for it can cover all sins 切當敦仁仁者無惡不隱". The translation assumed that "charity" can be rendered as "*ren* 仁" in Chinese. The theological assumption of this translation is that "charity" taught by the

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 197-8.

epistle is equal to *ren* taught by Confucius. Therefore, Xie directly equated the two concepts without any explanation and simply elaborated the content and importance of *ren* through quoting Mencius and other Classics.¹⁸¹

In addition, the frequent use of *Dao* in the Delegates' version "[give] the impression [to the Chinese readers] that the Christian message is doctrine which can be learnt and studied like the doctrines and teachings of their own Chinese philosophers, ethical teachers and religious movement".¹⁸² Thus many Chinese Protestant Christians often equate the Christian message with Confucian values. This tendency can be observed in the series of article entitled "And they were astonished at his teaching, for his word was with power"¹⁸³ (Luke 4:32).

The Delegates' version translated the word "teaching" as *Xun* (訓), and the word "power" as *Dao* (道). Therefore, the verse was translated in Chinese as "they were astonished at his teaching because its *Dao* is better 眾異其訓以道勝也". The Chinese Protestant Christians, reading this verse, believed that Jesus was teaching values that similar to those in Confucianism, and it is the

¹⁸¹ Xie Hangtao (謝亨鎔), "Lun Ren zhi Shixing" 論仁之實行[On the Practice of benevolence], WGGB vol. 12 no.572 (10/1/1880): 6960.

¹⁸² Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation: As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5:1-12 and Col 1*, 61.

¹⁸³ The word "teaching" is used instead of "doctrine" in KJV in this verse.

Dao that astonished and then attracted his fellow to follow him. Nie Zixiang (聶子祥) suggested that it is because Jesus' teaching is based on mercy (慈悲) and justice (公義), taught the value of loyalty, honesty (忠信), rites and righteousness (禮義), that the crowd was astonished, and then convinced by the *Dao* (大道當前眾心無不誠服矣).¹⁸⁴ Similarly, Li Qianjin (李乾金) suggested that the teaching of Jesus is on how to be sincere in thoughts, purify hearts, cultivate persons, regulate families, order well states and illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom 誠意正心修身齊家治國平天下¹⁸⁵, and it is these teaching instead of the miracles that astonished the others. The two articles equated the teaching of Jesus and Confucian values through reducing them to the same great *Dao* (大道). And this is because of the theological assumption of the Delegates' version.

2.2 Methodological Review

In the course of reception of the Bible by the Chinese Protestant Christians, the meaning of the Bible is not simply being dug out from the text by the Chinese Protestant Christians. Recent development of hermeneutical

¹⁸⁴ Nie Zixiang (聶子祥), "Zhong Yi Qi Xun Yi Dao Sheng ye" 眾異其訓以道勝也 [And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 393 (24/6/1876): 2575.

¹⁸⁵ Li Qianjin (李乾金), "Zhong Yi Qi Xun Yi Dao Sheng ye" 眾異其訓以道勝也 [And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 395 (8/7/1876): 2630. The translation of the Chinese Classics quoted is based on James Legge except "purify heart 正心".

theories suggested that every understanding of a text is a reinterpretation of the text which the reader's context played an important role. In addition, when the Bible is translated into Chinese and placed into the hand of Chinese Protestant Christians, it is transplanted into a foreign context. Therefore, theories concerning interpretation, reception of the text and cultural exchanges would be revisited in this part.

2.2.1 Challenges from Hermeneutic Theories

Traditionally, it is believed that hermeneutic process involves three parties: the author, the text, and the reader. It is believed that the author tries to demonstrate his own intention through the text, and the text is understood as the static form of the expression of the authorial intention. The reader's mission is only to decode the author's idea through correctly understanding the text. In this theory, the text is a static entity, its meaning would not be changed, and it can totally reflect the authorial intention. There is no role for the reader to play. The reader only tries to recover the past through correctly understanding the text. Under this traditional framework, the only mission of the reader is to put away their own prejudice and correctly understand the text and mis-interpretation should be avoided.

In this framework, the problem of interpretation thus becomes the temporal distance between the author and the reader. As a remnant from the past, the text is alien to the present age. The temporal distance between the reader and the text poses a great difficulty for understanding a text.

Schleiermacher (1768-1834) believed that the work enjoys its true significance only in where it originally belongs, therefore by reconstructing the original world of the text, the meaning and significance of the work can be restored.¹⁸⁶ For Schleiermacher, the meaning of the text is hidden in the text, and the reader's mission is to put the text in its original context in order to find the meaning out of the text.

On the contrary, Gadamer believes that the meaning of the text is actualized only when it is understood, because it must be perceived by readers in order to be actualized.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the meaning of the text is necessarily understood by a reader. The idea that interpretation and application are only supplemental to understanding is not correct.¹⁸⁸ Gadamer further suggests that understanding is always interpretation, and it always involves

¹⁸⁶ Hans-Georg Gadamer, Joel Weinsheimer and Donald Marshall trans., *Truth and Method* (London, New York: Continuum, 2004), 158-160.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 156-157.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 306.

application.¹⁸⁹ The reader's mission is not to dig the meaning out of the text through putting it back to its original context: such effort is always futile, since "a life brought back from the lost past, is not the original".¹⁹⁰ In order to understand a text, the reader always applies the text to their own context, thus understanding is always interpretation and application. It is especially clear in Biblical hermeneutics. As Gadamer points out, "the gospel does not exist in order to be understood as a merely historical document, but to be taken in such a way that it exercises its saving effect."¹⁹¹ In short, understanding a text simply means applying the text to the reader's context.

The role of the reader is thus creative in Gadamer's theory. He highlights the fore-conceptions of the reader: A reader always projects it onto his reading. He has particular expectation on the reading process, and the meaning he reads from the text revises his expectation.¹⁹² The fore-conceptions are not borne out by the texts themselves, and they are unavoidable in the reading process. The fore-conceptions, or, prejudice, come from authority and tradition.¹⁹³ These prejudices of the individual constitute the historical reality

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 306-307.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 159.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 307.

¹⁹² Ibid, 269.

¹⁹³ Ibid, 278-285.

of the reader's being.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, Gadamer believes that all understanding is historical. Paul Ricoeur rightly comments that Gadamer shifts the focus of hermeneutics from "how do we know" to "what is the mode of being of that being who exists only in understanding"¹⁹⁵. In fact, the mission of hermeneutics, for Schleiermacher, is to avoid misunderstanding, and for Gadamer, is to ask "how understanding is possible" and "who is the reader that reading the text".

The research on the reception and interpretation of the Bible, therefore, is not to judge whether the Chinese Protestant Christians had misunderstood the Bible or not, or how to avoid misunderstanding of the Bible in the Chinese context, but to see how the Chinese Protestant Christians made sense of the text and themselves in their own context. Gadamer's hermeneutical theory is universal because it is describing the fact of understanding but not suggesting a competent hermeneutical method.

The articles this research deals with are the result of a dialogue between the reader (Chinese Protestant Christians) and the text (Chinese translation of the Bible). The Chinese Protestant Christians brought their question and their

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 278.

¹⁹⁵ Paul Ricoeur, John Thompson trans., "The Task of Hermeneutic", *Hermeneutics and the Human Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 54.

preconception dominated by their traditions into the dialogue, and these preconception, pre-understanding was continuously revised by the Bible. The meaning of the Bible was thus constructed through this process.

Paul Ricoeur further adds that the text in the interpretation process is first de-contextualized from its original context, and then re-contextualized into the readers' context.¹⁹⁶ Ricoeur emphasizes that the world of the text has its own autonomy, which is independent from both its author and its reader. He points out that a text is different from speaking and hearing because in the situation of speaking and hearing, the speaker and the listener were sharing the same situation, but the author and the reader of a text no longer share a common situation.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, the world of the text is not the world of everyday language. It can liberate itself from the intended reader, and by being read by the unintended reader, different meanings other than the authorial intention appeared.

The hermeneutical theories above suggest that the meaning of a text is shaped by the reader. The meaning of a text is highly dependent of the reader. An inevitable conclusion drawn from this statement is that, there can never be

¹⁹⁶ Paul Ricoeur, John Thompson trans., "Hermeneutical function of distancing", *Hermeneutics and the Human Science*, 139.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 141.

an authoritative interpretation regarding the text. If the objective understanding of a text cannot be reached, then the meaning of the text becomes arbitrary. Everybody can read his meaning into any text as he wished. It is a danger of slipping into relativism in the eyes of many other scholars.

It should be made clear in the very first place that Gadamer is not advocating a kind of method of interpretation, but he is describing how understanding works. As he confessed, that philosophical theory of hermeneutics is not a methodology, it is a description of what is the case of interpretation.¹⁹⁸ And he also suggests that a good reader should be able to “open to the meaning of other person or text” and not “stick blindly to our own fore-meaning about the things”¹⁹⁹ However, the danger of relativism still exists if the standard of judgment lies on the self-discipline of the readers. As Eco suggested, if Jack the Ripper told us that he did what he did on the grounds of his interpretation of the Gospel according to Saint Luke, he needed medical care even in the eyes of Eco who is sympathetic with reader-oriented paradigm²⁰⁰ (Although a serial killer would need medical care no matter he

¹⁹⁸ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 512-513.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 271.

²⁰⁰ Umberto Eco, “Interpretation and History”, in Stefan Collini, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 24. Jack the Ripper is a serial killer active in London in late 19th Century.

read gospel or not). Therefore, Eco proposed that some interpretation can be judged as “overinterpretation” and seen as not appropriate understanding of a text.

The debate on interpretation and overinterpretation is quite important here because this thesis tends to adopt a relativist approach, which may receive criticism if any objective standard of interpretation can be achieved. The discussion between Umberto Eco and Jonathan Culler will be briefly introduced below.

Eco believes that there should be rule at least for ascertaining which interpretations are “bad” even though there are no rules to define the “best”.²⁰¹ He shows that Rosetti’s interpretation of the work of Dante is “overinterpretation” because he attempted to draw a Rosicrucian thematics from elements of a motif which do not appear together in the text. Jonathan Culler, on the other hand, points out that what Eco termed as “overinterpretation” is actually “under-interpretation”. He points out that in that case, the interpretation is not seen as persuasive simply because the reader has not given enough evidence yet to support his interpretation.²⁰² Culler

²⁰¹ Umberto Eco, “Overinterpreting Texts”, in *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, 52.

²⁰² Jonathan Culler, “In Defence of Overinterpretation”, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, 111-2.

believes that the text cannot determine the range of questions we put into it, the meaning of the text is partly depended on the context of different readers, and the context itself is limitless. Still, Jonathan Culler believes that the text itself, its narratives, its genre, played an important role in the interpretation process.²⁰³ He then raises a question on pragmatist as Stanley Fish, who seems suggesting that “there is no way in which other readers can challenge what I do because there is no position outside belief from which the validity of a set of beliefs could be adjudicated”.²⁰⁴ Fish’s relativism denied that the text can serve as a means to judge different interpretations, that the meaning of the text is only the reader’s response to the text. Despite Culler’s disapproval of this stance, Fish’s approach is useful in understanding the Chinese Protestant Christians’ interpretation of the Bible. Thus we now turn to Stanley Fish, the advocate of reader-response criticism.

2.2.2 Hermeneutical communities and hermeneutical strategies

Regarded as a relativist, Stanley Fish suggests the concept “interpretive communities” to explain different interpretations on the same text. He believes that an interpretive community is formed because the readers share

²⁰³ Stefan Collini, “Interpretation Terminable and Interminable”, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, 13.

²⁰⁴ Jonathan Culler, “In Defence of Overinterpretation”, 118-9.

the same interpretive strategy and are led to the same interpretation of a text.²⁰⁵ If readers did not share the same interpretive strategy, they would have different interpretations. But there are no measures to judge whether which interpretation is more correct.

He suggests that due to temporal distance and contextual usage, the literal meaning of the words in a text is unstable.²⁰⁶ Its meaning is the reader's response to it.²⁰⁷ All readers are equal before the text. Fish demonstrates two opposing views of William Blake's "The Tyger" by Raine and Hirsch, in which both critics cited ample textual evidence to support their views.²⁰⁸ It is clear to Fish that the text is always a function of interpretation.²⁰⁹ There can never be any objective judgment on the meaning of the text, so the meaning of the text is dependent on different interpretations.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ Stanley Fish, "Interpreting the Variorum", in *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Community*, 168-172.

²⁰⁶ Stanley Fish, "Is There a Text in This Class?", in *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Community*, 309-310.

²⁰⁷ Stanley Fish, "Introduction", in *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Community*, 3.

²⁰⁸ Stanley Fish, "What Makes an Interpretation Acceptable?", in *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Community*, 339-340.

²⁰⁹ Stanley Fish, "What Makes an Interpretation Acceptable?", 342.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 340.

Instead of authority and tradition, Fish believes that it is the social context which dominates the reader's reception of a text. He suggests that "meanings come already calculated, not because of norms embedded in the language but because language is always perceived, from the very first, within a structure of norms. That structure, however, is not abstract and independent but social", and this structure will change according to the background of practices, purposes and goals.²¹¹ He believes that social context, purpose and interest dominate the reader's perception of the text.

This concept of interpretive community is heavily attacked by Thomas Kent. Kent equates interpretive strategies with a singular conceptual framework of belief and assumptions about the world, and believes that the community possesses a unique language which a newcomer to a community will not understand until s/he learns the conventional sign system employed in the community.²¹² He probably misunderstands Fish's theory. It is not a unique conceptual framework of belief and assumption the community shares, but a structure that changes according to different social context and practices, that the interpretive community shares. Kent further argues that an implicit

²¹¹ Stanley Fish, "Is There a Text in This Class?", 318.

²¹² Thomas Kent, *Paralogic Rhetoric* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1993), 78-79.

“Cartesianism” exists in the formulation, that the text cannot be understood and at the same time understood to be different from us.²¹³ This is because different conceptual frameworks supply us with “unique and incommensurate ways of looking at the world”, and therefore other ways to look at the world are unavailable.²¹⁴ Kent fails to account for the reader’s ability to learn and reinterpret, or else he may overemphasize the importance of conceptual frameworks. As the social situation changes, other interpretive strategies will be adopted and a plurality of interpretations of the text can be generated. In Fish example of the sentence “Is there a text in this class?”, Fish suggests that the interaction between the lecturer and the student (the sender) helps the lecturer (the reader), to adapt the message to another social situation and to reach another interpretation of the sentence. It shows that it is the change of the social situation that leads to the adaptation of different interpretive strategies. Hence, the adaptation of different interpretive strategies is not that difficult.

There is still one problem in Fish’s framework. For Fish, interpretations are controlled by interpretive strategies, and the adaptation of interpretive strategies is the distinguishing feature of different interpretive communities.

²¹³ Ibid, 79. See also Reed Way Dasenbrock, “Do We Write the Text We Read,” *College English* 53 (1991): 17.

²¹⁴ Thomas Kent, *Paralogic Rhetoric*, 79.

In short, if different interpretations appear, then it is only that the reader adopted different interpretive strategies, and different interpretive communities form. However, no two readers share the same view towards the same text. Finally, maybe there is only one person in every interpretive community. Then it is not a “community” at all. Despite this problem, Fish’s portrayal of strategies and communities provides us a framework to explain the Chinese Protestant Christians’ reading of the Bible.

Instead of interpretive strategies, the concept of “hermeneutical strategies” is adopted in this research. Since previous scholars frequently adopted the two terms “interpretive strategies” and “hermeneutic strategies” without consensus definition, it is necessary to adopt a new concept in order to distinguish with the two ambiguous concepts and avoid confusion.

Kenneth Archer and Thomas Kent use the concept “hermeneutic strategy” without clear definition, and “interpretive strategy” is used on different occasions to mean very different things, although the researchers that adopted the term seemed to believe that it needed no clarification. The author will briefly analyze the meanings of the two terms to demonstrate that there is no consensus definition, and show why it is difficult to adopt them into the framework of this thesis.

Archer's dissertation, submitted at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, was entitled *Forging a New Path: a Contemporary Pentecostal Hermeneutical Strategy for the 21st century*. However it was published as *A Pentecostal Hermeneutic for the Twenty-first Century: Spirit, Scripture and Community*. His book aims at constructing a contextual exegesis for the Pentecostal church which embraced a Pentecostal identity.²¹⁵ He believed that the "hermeneutical strategy" for the Pentecostal is a "narrative strategy that embraces a triadic negotiation for meaning",²¹⁶ which is a "narrative approach" that takes into account the contribution of the text, the community and the Holy Spirit. He does not give a clear definition for the concept. On the contrary, concepts like "hermeneutical approach", "interpretive method" are also frequently used in the book in the same sense as "hermeneutical strategy".²¹⁷

Thomas Kent's book *Paralogic Rhetoric* aims at explaining that communicative interaction cannot be reduced to a framework of normative conventions or logico-systemic process. He adopts the concept "hermeneutic strategy" and equates it with the concept "conceptual schemes" in Donald

²¹⁵ Kenneth Archer, *A Pentecostal Hermeneutic for the Twenty-first century: Spirit, Scripture and Community* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 156-191.

²¹⁶ Ibid, 156.

²¹⁷ Ibid, 3-5.

Davidson's work. In addition, he explains that communicative interactions are only guessing between different hermeneutical strategies in order to help us make sense of what others are saying.²¹⁸ We human beings have been thrown into a world of signs: we can never really 'understand' the signs, we can only guess what the signs mean. Hermeneutical strategies are ways to encode and decode meaning through signs.²¹⁹ It can only be learnt from daily communicative interaction, and no frameworks can be summarized.

For the concept "interpretive strategy", Stanley Fish extensively used it in his works without clear definition. Fish believes that interpretive strategy exists prior to the act of reading. The assumption of the nature of the text and its author are part of the strategy. His use of the concept is closely connected with the concept of interpretive community. He believes that an interpretive community is formed because the readers share the same interpretive strategy and are led to the same interpretation of the text.²²⁰

David Tracy believes that interpretive strategies mean different models of hermeneutical theories. In his article "Interpretation as Conversation: The

²¹⁸ Thomas Kent, *Paralogic Rhetoric* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1993), 84.

²¹⁹ Thomas Kent, *Paralogic Rhetoric*, 30.

²²⁰ Stanley Fish, "Interpreting the Variorum", in *Is There a Text in This Class?: The authority of interpretive communities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 168-172.

Challenge to the Modern University”, he introduces three different models of interpretation theory: the conversation model of Gadamer, the explanatory theory of Paul Ricoeur, and the critical theory of Jürgen Habermas.²²¹ And in the same book, Lance Grahn wrote an article entitled “Texts and Jesuit Values: The Interpretive Strategy of Liberationist History”. Grahn’s “interpretive strategy” is not a strategy for interpretation, but a strategy of interpretation. He suggests an interpretive strategy to see history as an interpretive enterprise, that the study of human history is always interpretation on human behavior.²²² He advocates a strategy of studying history as interpretation.²²³

There is no consensus on the meaning of the two concepts between scholars. However, readers might be confused if these concepts are employed with new meanings in this thesis. Therefore the term “hermeneutical strategy” is adopted instead of all others.

The meanings of the term “strategies” must be clarified before the discussion is to proceed. Nowadays it is widely used to denote ‘any plan of

²²¹ David Tracy, “Interpretation as Conversation: The Challenge to the Modern University”, in Ed Block ed., *Ideas for the university: proceedings of Marquette University's mission seminar and conference* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1995), 127.

²²² Lance Grahn, “Texts and Jesuit Values: The Interpretive Strategy of Liberationist History” in Ed Block ed., *Ideas for the university: proceedings of Marquette University's mission seminar and conference*, 188-189.

²²³ Lance Grahn, “Texts and Jesuit Values: The Interpretive Strategy of Liberationist History”, 194.

action in achieving specific goals', but the term finds its origin in the military.

The differences between "strategy" and "tactics" in military usage should be emphasized. Baron de Jomini suggests that strategy is "the art of making war upon the maps, and comprehending the whole theater of operations", while tactics are "bringing them into action, and the art of fighting upon the ground, in contradistinction to planning upon a map".²²⁴ Strategies served for a strategical aim, and different tactics can be used under the same strategy.

Similarly, the differences between hermeneutical strategies and interpretation methods can be observed. Hermeneutical strategies can be seen as plans that guide the interpretation process by setting the principles and assumptions for the process. Different interpretation methods can be employed under the same strategy.

This distinction between hermeneutical strategies and methods is pioneered in Fredric Jameson's work, although Jameson does not explicitly make such a distinction. Jameson points out that the medieval exegetical system has an "ideological mission as a strategy for assimilating the Old Testament to the New", and the system of four levels of meaning is

²²⁴ Baron Antoine Henri de Jomini, *the Art of War* (London: Greenhill Books, 1992), 69.

legitimated in order to achieve the goal.²²⁵ The system tries to incorporate four different methods of interpretation: literal, allegorical, anagogical, and moral, under the overall strategy of assimilating the Old Testament with the New. The Exodus in the Old Testament can be interpreted as historical fact under the literal reading, and as a prefiguring of the suffering of Christ and the long purgatorial suffering of earthly history until the Day of Judgment, under the allegorical reading. The assimilation is achieved.²²⁶ For Jameson, these four methods were part of the same strategy aimed at achieving functional and ideological transformation. Adopting this distinction, this thesis further advocates the differences between hermeneutic strategies and interpretation methods.

In the light of Jameson's distinction, the current research suggests that "hermeneutical strategies" is approaches that directly answer the questions raised by the context. Under the same strategy, different methods of interpretation are adopted as tactics, which give rise to different interpretation regarding the same text. And as defined, hermeneutical strategies are developed to solve a "hermeneutical aim", that is, answer the questions raised

²²⁵ Fredric Jameson, "On Interpretation", *the Political Unconscious* (London; New York: Routledge, 1983), 14.

²²⁶ Fredric Jameson, "On Interpretation", 14-15.

by the context, therefore the group of people who shared the same canon and the same context are to be seen as in the same hermeneutical community.

The late Qing Chinese Protestant, therefore, belonged to the same hermeneutical community because they share the same canon and context.

The Chinese Protestant Christians at that time have the same hermeneutical aim, that is, to respond to the accusations brought against them. Those

accusations directed at Christianity urged the Chinese Christians to rethink

and explain the basic doctrines of Christianity. They had to refute the

accusations by expressing the legitimacy of Christian teaching to other

Chinese people through interpreting the Bible, the only authority of

Christianity in the Protestant tradition. In this process, the Christian Bible was reinterpreted in the light of the Chinese tradition.

2.2.3 Cultural Differences and Linguistic Peculiarity

Cultural differences had become the major problem for the Chinese Christians in all times in the eyes of researchers. However, the definition of “culture” is never clearly demonstrated in most of the research, and there are no agreements on the definition of the term. The term “culture” is so general that almost everything is included; it designates things from commodities to concepts, from customs to Confucianism. The underlying meaning of

“cultural contact” then may become contact with anything, and “cultural differences” may denote that the two objects are basically different. If the root of differences between cultures can be found, then the major hindrance between cultural exchanges can be addressed.

Jacques Gernet discusses the difficulties of expressing Christian concepts in the Chinese context in his book *China and the Christian Impact*. He tries also to trace the origin of such difficulties. His conclusions are criticized by Nicholas Standaert, who proposes an interactive framework for understanding the difficulties of contact between the two cultures. Through their discussion, the Chinese Christians’ interpretation of the Christian message can be better understood.

Jacques Gernet discovers that the late Ming and early Qing Catholic Chinese reception of Christian concepts was distorted. Since Chinese culture did not separate religion and politics, did not separate temporal and eternal, the reception of the doctrine of the Christian God as the eternal lord to be worshipped by commoners was distorted. The result was the political charge of heterodoxy, leveled against Christianity in the early Qing period. Chinese culture hindered Chinese Christians from receiving the true doctrines of

Christianity.²²⁷ Gernet believes that these differences indicate that the two cultures are incompatible. He further suggests that linguistic peculiarity played an important part in the divergences between Chinese and Christian ideas.²²⁸

The first conclusion was severely criticized by Nicholas Standaert in his review of the methodologies of the studies on the contact between cultures.²²⁹ He classified Gernet's framework as the "reception framework". He further elaborated that the reception framework believes that the context of the receiver can explain the changes of the message.²³⁰ As demonstrated in Gernet's work, researchers adopted this framework and compared the receiver's writing with the transmitter's original message and evaluated how the receiver received the message. It inevitably led to the conclusion that different cultures were at best incompatible and may even be simply incommensurable because communication was a dialogue of

²²⁷ Jacques Gernet, Janet Lloyd trans., *China and the Christian Impact: a Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 239.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Nicholas Standaert, *Methodology in View of Contact between Cultures: The China Case in the 17th Century* (Hong Kong : Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002), 15.

²³⁰ Ibid, 16.

misunderstandings.²³¹ Therefore, Standaert believes that Gernet inevitably reached this conclusion because of the framework he chose.

The second conclusion should have attracted more attention than the first. Protestant missionaries complained that Chinese is an imperfect language that cannot convey spiritual truths.²³² Gernet does not agree that Chinese is an imperfect language, but he, too, agrees that Chinese language lacks the grammatical categories of Greek or Latin.²³³ Gernet believes that linguistic structure inevitably posed the question of modes of thought²³⁴, hence Christian concepts could not be expressed in Chinese terms.

This conclusion is a variation of the linguistic relativity principle first clearly expressed in the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835). Humboldt taught that every language should be seen as a particular view of the world.²³⁵ This idea was further developed by the anthropologist Edward Sapir and his student, Benjamin Whorf. Whorf works mainly on the Hopi, a native American people, and suggests that language is “a classification and

²³¹ Ibid, 13-14.

²³² Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 72-73.

²³³ Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: a Conflict of Cultures*, 240-241.

²³⁴ Ibid, 239.

²³⁵ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 437.

arrangement of the stream of sensory experience which results in a certain world order, a certain segment of the world that is easily expressible by the type of symbolic means that language employs”, instead of only “a technique of expression”²³⁶. Therefore, concepts in the Hopi language cannot be conveyed in English.

This hypothesis itself underwent challenges. Indeed, if as Whorf believes, concepts in the Hopi language cannot be conveyed into English, how is it possible for Whorf himself to accurately learn the Hopi language and present his works in English? As Donald Davidson, a linguistic philosopher, puts: “different points of view make sense, but only if there is a common co-ordinate system on which to plot them; yet the existence of a common system belies the claim of dramatic incomparability”.²³⁷ It shows that the hypothesis is somehow self-contradictory. One cannot conclude that the two language systems are untranslatable unless one commands the two languages, and the possibility of commanding more than one language implies the possibility of learning a foreign language, which refutes the conclusion that two language systems are untranslatable.

²³⁶ Benjamin Whorf, “The Punctual and Segmentative Aspect of Verbs in Hopi”, in John B. Carroll ed., *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964), 55.

²³⁷ Donald Davidson, *Inquiries into truth and interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 184.

The possibility of learning a foreign language suggested that linguistic differences are not insurmountable. As Gadamer suggested, that learning a foreign language gives one a new standpoint on one's previous worldview, but one still does not forget his original worldview and language view even though one adopt a foreign frame of mind.²³⁸ The hindrance linguistic differences played in the reception of the Chinese Bible should not be ignored, but it should also be noted that in overcoming this difficulty, the world of both Chinese Protestant Christians and Christianity developed.

In a review of the methodologies of the studies on the contact between cultures, Nicholas Standaert suggests that there were four different frameworks for analyzing cultural contacts. The transmission framework focuses on how the missionaries transmitted their message to the Chinese. Researchers are concerned with the contribution and influence of the missionary, therefore, the missionary became the main agent in the process. Whether a message is "correctly" transmitted to the Chinese or not was highly dependent on how the missionaries transmitted the message to them.²³⁹ The reception framework, on the contrary, focuses on how the Chinese received

²³⁸ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 439.

²³⁹ Nicholas Standaert, *Methodology in View of Contact between Cultures: The China Case in the 17th Century*, 7-10.

and reacts to the missionaries' message. Researchers compare the receiver's writing with the transmitter's original message and evaluate how the receiver received the message. Standaert suggests that this framework inevitably led to the conclusion that different cultures were at best incompatible and may even be simply incommensurable because communication is a dialogue of misunderstandings.²⁴⁰ Although the reception framework rejects the transmission framework's assumption that the receiver received the message in its pure state, the reception framework believes that the context of the receiver could explain the changes of the message.²⁴¹

For the invention framework, Standaert suggests that researchers focused on the transmitter and how the transmitter's invented or constructed representation of the receiver contributes to the transmission of the message.²⁴² In other words, they focus on how the transmitter represented the receivers. He believes that this framework followed Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which investigated how the Middle East was represented in Westerner's eyes and further became the self-understanding of the people of the Middle East. Standaert points out that this framework ignored the

²⁴⁰ Ibid, 13-14.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 16.

²⁴² Ibid, 21.

contribution of the native community and the communication process is absent.

Standaert himself favors the interaction and communication framework. He suggests that the framework is based on revising the other three frameworks. Instead of asking how the receiver was changed by the interaction in the transmission framework, the interaction framework questions how the transmitter was changed by the interaction.²⁴³ And instead of asking what had been changed in the message in the transmission framework, it concerns “to what extent is the message changed due to the reception by the receiver” and concerns both the Chinese as receiver and the Westerner as receiver. Standaert stresses the reciprocity and interaction between cultures. This reciprocity is what this thesis wants to emphasize. Chinese Protestant Christians are not accommodating Christianity into Chinese culture, which keeps the Chinese culture static. The two cultures are reinterpreted at the same time.

While “cultural differences” are emphasized in the history of Christianity in China, it should be remembered that there are still no agreements on the definition of culture. On the one hand, Christian concepts undergo changes

²⁴³ Ibid, 24.

during the process, but this does not prove that Christianity and Chinese culture are incompatible. On the other hand, the changes of the Chinese traditional concepts are often ignored. Through reading the writings of Chinese Protestant Christians, this thesis hopes to show how the Chinese Protestant Christians reinterpreted both Chinese tradition and Christian Bible in responding to their own context in order to justify their conversion.

Chapter 3

The General Reception of the Bible by Chinese Protestant Christians

It is important to provide a brief sketch on how the Chinese Protestant Christians receive the Bible before entering into the discussion on their interpretation and their context. It is undeniable that the Chinese Protestant Christians were interpreting the Bible in the selected articles, but not elaborating Christian doctrines as they like. They had read the text before they wrote the articles, and their exposition was bounded by the selected verse. Their selection of the verses, their general view on the Bible and questions they asked on the Bible will be analyzed in this chapter.

The chapter will be divided into three parts, in the first part, the general reception of the Bible will be discussed. Two stances towards the Bible can be found, but both emphasized the “core message”, which is rather a moral learning, of the Bible. The reception of the Old Testament and the New Testament will be discussed in the second and the third part respectively.

Chinese Protestant Christians preferred to interpret the New Testament than the Old Testament.

3.1 Chinese Protestant Christians' General Attitudes towards the Bible

In the *JHXP* period, one Chinese Protestant Christian from Ningpo named Lu Congzhou (路從周) wrote articles to ask questions concerning mainly the content of the Old Testament, and Wang Pinsan (黃品三), a pastor from Shanghai answered most of them. In their discussion, the difficulty of reading Chinese Bible and different stances concerning the Bible can be observed.

Lu started his series of questions by stating his difficulty in understanding the details of the Bible. He believed that “[one] must know the original language and English in order to clearly understand details of the Bible 凡看聖書必先曉原文英文，方可達其精微”²⁴⁴, and “although the main idea of the Bible is clear, [I] am helpless when come across with difficulties 雖略明聖書大義，但遇疑難之處屢至伏案三嘆”, therefore he wrote down the difficulties hoping other Christians can answer his questions. His questions are, of course, not limited to problems of translation, but also on different moral codes, the clash of scientific theories and the Bible, and the historical background of the Bible. But it is clear that Lu did not satisfy with the “main ideas” of the Bible and begin to raise questions on the details of the text.

²⁴⁴ Lu Congzhou (路從周), “Ningpo Lu Jiaoyou Lai Wen” 寧波路教友來問 [Questions from Brethren Lu from Ningpo], *JHXP* vol. 1(1868): 345.

Wang, on the contrary, believed that the questions are unnecessary for understanding Christianity. Wang emphasized that one should keep his own faith on Christ and focus on the main idea of Christianity, because one “would find doubtful contents everywhere if he kept suspecting 若存疑竇但覺到處窒礙”.²⁴⁵ He believed that the “real meaning 真旨” can be grasp by faith, to stick to every word in the text is an illness of scholar (學者太病).²⁴⁶

One of the questions Lu raised was on the “thirty piece of silver” that Judas got from the chief priest by delivering Jesus to him. In the Chinese translation, it is written as “thirty gold 金三十”, Lu is confused because he “didn’t understand what it means and how much it cost 不識其何指且不識其爲兩爲錢”²⁴⁷. And Wang answered that Lu can simply “check the Western books of archaeology, but the answer did not contain any moral implications 可查西國博物考古等書然知之亦無所建德於人也”.²⁴⁸ It is clear that Wang believed that only the main ideas, the moral teaching of Christianity is important in reading the Bible, and other details can be omitted. The

²⁴⁵ Wang Pinsan (黃品三), “Da Lu Congzhou” 答路從周 [Answers to Lu Congzhou], *JHXP* vol. 2 (1869): 514.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. This attitude also echoes their attitude towards the Hanxue academic trends at their time. See Chapter 5.

²⁴⁷ Lu Congzhou, “Ningpo Lai Wen” 寧波來問 [Questions from Ningpo], *JHXP* vol. 2 (1869): 481.

²⁴⁸ Wang Pinsan, “Da Lu Congzhou” 答路從周 [Answer to Lu Congzhou], *JHXP* vol.2 (1869): 514

discussion is not yet ended. Lu further suggested that the Bible is “the revelation of God and every word contains deep meanings 皆爲神之默牖字字各有精義”, so it is not proper to say that “[since] it did not contain any moral implication, it can be ignored 無所建德而不深究”.²⁴⁹ Lu referring to the questions of “thirty gold” and argued that the cost of the gold is equal to “the normal cost of a slave 鬻奴之常值”, and it showed “on the one hand that Jesus was treated as a slave and it fulfilled the prophecies, on the other hand that Judas sold Jesus for so few a money, and it hints that men are easily seduced by profits, and that greedy is so harmful 一則見耶穌之居卑賤以應先知之預言一則知猶大爲些須之金即忍賣師可見利之薰人實甚貪之爲害大矣哉”, this is the moral implication behind this detail.²⁵⁰ In this case the “deep meaning” of the Bible is moral meaning. He attributed a moral meaning to the verse and claimed that every detail in the Biblical text should not be overlooked in order to better understand the Bible. Despite the different views on the importance of the details of the text, Lu and Wang believed that morality is the core message of the Bible.

²⁴⁹ Lu Congzhou, “Fu Wang Jiaoyou Lun Yiwen Shu” 覆黃教友論疑問書 [Reply Brethren Wang on Problems concerning the Bible], *JHXP* vol. 2 (1869): 653-654.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

Most Chinese Protestant Christians believed that the whole Bible can be reduced to a few “main ideas”. Cai Hongzhang (蔡鴻璋) pointed out that the Bible “contain the *Dao* of the creation and end, and the truth of death and life 包涵乎原始要終之道囊括乎死生存亡之理”, and the two essential messages are “the power and merit of God 上帝至誠之功用” and “the most pressing matter the common people should do 蒼生當務之切要”.²⁵¹ In reading the Bible, the most important thing is to “master its essence and follow its teaching 精通其本原謹守其義理”, and by doing so, one can obtain virtues like humble 謙遜, honesty 誠實, charity 施舍 and indifferent to fame and fortune 淡泊.²⁵² He Yuquan (何玉泉) summarized the whole Bible as “God creating the world, Jesus saving the world and the Spirit enlightening the world, all demonstrates that God loves the world 上帝之創世耶穌之救世聖神之牖世無一不可見其愛世之深切”, and through reading the Bible one can perceive the message, “abandon evil and receive the salvation of soul, enjoy the blessing of eternal life both in this life and after life 棄邪歸正自得靈魂之救今生來生獲享永生之福矣”.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Cai Hongzhang (蔡鴻璋), “Quan Du Shengjing Wen” 勸讀聖經文 [Advice to read the Bible], *JHXP* vol. 6 (1873): 3284-86.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ He Yuquan (何玉泉), “Sheng Shu Lun” 聖書論 [On the Holy Book], *WGGB* vol. 11 no. 543 (14/6/1879): 6387.

Lu and Wang's discussion on the origin of rainbow reveals another important problem regarding Chinese translation of the Bible. As Genesis recorded, rainbow is the token of the covenant between God and the earth that set by God after the Flood (Gen. 9: 12-13). Lu questioned that "after God created the sun and clouds, rainbow appears naturally, [but] the holy book that God set rainbow as a token 神既造雲與日自然有虹見也聖書曰置虹以爲證似乎特設者",²⁵⁴. Concerning this question, Wang simply used "point 指" to replace "set 置" in his answer, so that rainbow is not especially created as a token for the covenant, it is only that God pointed to the existing rainbow as a token for the covenant.²⁵⁵ Wang actually changed the meaning of the verse in order to match his interpretation.

The tendency of retaining the "main ideas" of the Bible and ignoring minor details and even rewrite the Bible may be a result of criticism from the outside. As Wang stated himself, he afraid that "Non-Christians and those who banned from the church always defame the Bible and accuse God as not perfect, in order to cover their faults and legitimize their errors 有教外之人及被黜之教友往往謗聖書之不足責神善之未全藉此文其過而遂其非".²⁵⁶ As

²⁵⁴ Lu Congzhou, "Ningbo Lai Wen", 481.

²⁵⁵ Wang Pinsan, "Da Lu Congzhou", 514.

²⁵⁶ Wang Pinsan, "Da Lu Jiaoyou Shu" 答路教友書 [Reply to Brethren Lu], *JHXP* vol. 2 (1869): 682.

Lu's question revealed, many protagonists in the stories of Old Testament are morally corrupted, and Chinese Protestant Christians feared that these examples may be used by their oppressor as evidence to prove that Christianity taught improper behavior. This is not Wang's imagination. One Chinese Protestant Christian who took the pseudonym *Wei Wu Che Laoren* (未悟徹老人, literally "Old Man whose understanding is not clear") found that some Chinese Protestant Christians cheated on the others, and when they were caught, they appealed to the church and looked for intervention from foreign missionaries.²⁵⁷ In explaining that Christianity did not teach improper behavior, he suggested that the Old Testament "records the events that had happened before Jesus came, and prophesied the signs of his coming. Perhaps it contained words of indecencies, but these were not hidden because it is real biography and it cannot be deleted 是云耶穌未來之事預指必來之徵或有不雅之言皆無隱藏因爲真傳不可刪去".²⁵⁸ He believed that the Old Testament is historical records thus it kept the record of the indecent behavior of the ancestors, but those behavior should not be followed.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Wei Wu Che Laoren (未悟徹老人), "untitled", *JHXP* vol. 1 (1868): 32. See also Matthew Yeats, "the list of preacher" (士傳道名次單), *JHXP* vol. 1 (1868): 31; "By the owner of this college" (本書院主人啓), *JHXP* vol. 1 (1868): 40.

²⁵⁸ Wei Wu Che Laoren, "untitled", 32.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 31-33.

The fact that the Chinese Protestant Christians did not stick to the Chinese wordings in the Bible may also be the result of the plurality of translation at that time. Since different translations of the Bible were still continuing to be produced and there is no single authoritative Chinese translation, the Chinese Protestant Christians understood that the Chinese translation is not really accurate. Therefore, they believed that that “wordings can be changed but the main meaning must not be changed 文可以易而義斷不可易” in different translation.²⁶⁰

3.2 Chinese Protestant Christians’ Reception of the Old Testament

The reception of the Old Testament is worth our attention. There are only 14 articles written especially on the verses of the Old Testament, half of them are devoted to the discussion of the Ten Commandments, Bu Wangbian wrote five articles on Genesis elaborating how God created the world. The Chinese Protestant Christians paid relatively less attention to the Old Testament.

For the Chinese Protestant Christians, the Old Testament is only a book of history and prophecies. As Liu Changxing (劉常惺) summarized, “The Old Testament foretells the coming of Jesus and is the shadow, the New Testament records the coming of Jesus and is the form, though thousands of

²⁶⁰ Zhou Guoguang (周國光), “Lun Fanyi Shengshu” 論翻譯聖書 [On translating the Holy Book], *JHXP* vol. 1 (1868): 104.

years [between two books] their records matched 舊約一書預言耶穌降世爲其影新約一書實紀耶穌降世爲其形隔數千年而不爽”²⁶¹. Similarly, Bu Wangpian (補網篇) suggested that “the Old Testament is the root of the New Testament, and the New Testament can make clear the meaning of the Old, so by reading the New Testament one can understand the Old Testament 舊約新約兩部聖經原是互相表裏的舊約安新約的根新約明舊約的理要知舊約一切事跡的所以然看新約就可知道”.²⁶² It is clear that comparatively, the New Testament is more important than the Old because the core message of Christianity is the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, and they were in the New Testament. The Old Testament only served as the “shadow” and the “root” of the New.

Li Chunsheng (李春生, 1838-1924), a Chinese Protestant Christian in Formosa, believed that the Old Testament is a book of history which contains the traces of holy that Chinese Classics did not have. He believed that Israel “is blessed by God, angels and prophets appear in that land frequently and revealed the traces of holy, which last until now 極承上帝眷佑天使先知頻降

²⁶¹ Liu Changxing (劉常惺), “Xi Jiao Shiyi Shou” 西教釋疑說 [Clearing doubts on the religion from the West], *JHXP* vol. 5 (1872): 2292.

²⁶² Bu Wangpian (補網篇), “You Xin Yabolahan Jian Shi Shi Xian Yi Sa Sui Ceng Meng Yingxu Zhe Yi Xian Qi Duzi” 由信亞伯拉罕見試時獻以撒雖曾蒙應許者亦獻其獨子 [By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 468 (15/12/1877): 4430.

其地默示聖蹟至今猶存。” While the Chinese Classics “only for cultivation of the self, harmonize family, helping the emperor to rule the country, [it is] enough for the *Dao* of man 不過僅資修身齊家佐君治國足供人道之用”, but there is no books for “salvation of the world, leading human beings to worship the Heaven 救世導人宗天”, he didn’t know if there was no such tradition or it was destroyed by the fire of Qin.²⁶³ He then commented on the content of the Old Testament:

In the beginning God created the world and human being, the first ancestor was expelled, all the life committed sin, [therefore] God brought disaster, the Flood, in order to punish [his people]. The only righteous people Noah was founded favor and his family was saved by the ark. Alas, human kind favored evil and did not amend, God punished them [but also] pitied them. Heaven descended prophets for many times to warn the world and teach the people, and [they] omened that in the future, God would choose his holy son to descend to profane to save the world. 元始上帝創世造人始祖被貶眾生犯罪上帝災降洪水汜濫殄罰時惟義者哪啞蒙寵全家獲救方舟傳種嗚呼世人嗜惡不悛上帝罰之憫之天遣先知屢出警世化民並識證將來上帝簡厥聖子降凡救世²⁶⁴

Therefore, the Old Testament provided them the historical stories that full of moral lessons and prophecies on the coming of Jesus, and the moral

²⁶³ Li Chunsheng (李春生), “Shu You Wan Buke Que Dao You Shi Suo Bi Zong” 書有萬不可缺道有世所必宗 [Some books are necessary and the Way should be followed by every generation] *WGGB*, vol. 7 no. 316 (19/12/1874): 448.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

implication is emphasized. Two stories from Genesis were selected to explore the family relationship, but since there was no signature, it cannot be determined whether it is a work of missionaries or a work of Chinese Protestant Christians. The story of “lack of filial piety and love between brothers 孝弟有虧” is the story on Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and the story of “good nephew yielded to his uncle 賢姪讓叔” is on Lot and Abraham. In the former story, Adam and Eve are unfilial because they violated God’s command, and Cain killed his brother Abel showed that he did not love his brother. The writer commented that “the unfilial and lack of love between brothers in the following generations came from this, and it is the original sin 後世之不孝不弟莫不由此來也非原罪而何”. And in the latter story, “Abraham first yielded to his nephew and then saved his nephew thus is the most benevolence 亞伯拉罕先讓姪後救姪可謂仁愛之至也”.²⁶⁵ The retold stories stressed the family relationship between God and Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and Abraham and Lot. In addition, maintaining a good family relationship is a manifestation of love and benevolence, while violating it is a sin.

²⁶⁵ “Xiao Di You Kui” 孝弟有虧 [lack of filial piety and love between brothers] “Xian Zhi Rang Shu” 賢姪讓叔 [Good nephew yielded to his uncle], *WGGB*.vol. 12 no. 552 (23/8/1879): 6597.

There are four articles on the verses in the New Testament related to the Old Testament, including Chen Yunpeng's (陳雲鵬) account of Noah's story in 2 Pet. and Bu Wangbian's account on the story of Enoch, Abraham and Esau in Hebrews. Both writers chose a single verse in the New Testament instead of the complete story in the Old Testament and the moral teaching is especially emphasized. It should be noted that the verses in the New Testament is already the reinterpretation of Hebrew heritage of the early Church community, and the Chinese Protestant Christians' interpretation of these verses was undoubtedly following that tradition and omitted the minor details. On the story of Enoch, Bu interpreted the idea that "Enoch walk with God" as Enoch agreed with God in everything, and therefore "[his] heart did not left God 那個心沒有離開過神".²⁶⁶ He did so by following all the command of God and always praying to God. He believed that all Christians should "walk with God" in this way in order to not seeing death.²⁶⁷ On the story of Esau, Bu focused on the selling of Esau's birthright for a bowl of red bean soup, and he further elaborated that the birthright of Esau is similar to the qualification of being a Christians, that is morality. Therefore, through the

²⁶⁶ Bu Wangpian, "You Xin Yinuo De Yiqu Bushi" 由信以諾得移去不死 [By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 479 (9/3/1878): 4721.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 4722.

story he urged Christians to behave well in order not to lose the qualification of being a disciple.²⁶⁸ On the story of Abraham, Bu urged that Christians should behave “like Abraham, followed every words of God 如同亞伯拉罕似的上主怎麼說他怎麼聽”. Similarly, Chen Yunpeng suggested through the story of Noah that “human wickedness cannot escape the wrath of God, but virtue which moves God’s heart can save [one] from eternal suffering. Seeing that punishment and reward are accurate, we should learn from this lesson 貫盈罪惡難逃義怒之誅而德感帝心自免淪亡之苦觀賞罰之不爽也如此不可爲吾等鑒乎”.²⁶⁹ All four articles concluded with a lesson to learn.

Qian Lianxi (錢蓮溪) further adopted the idea that stories in the Old Testament are the prefiguration of the New Testament. He suggested that the death of Abel is the prefiguration of Christ, that “The blood of Abel cried from the ground echoes the blood of Christ cried from the cross, which saved ten thousands people 亞伯之血在地呼籲有聲正與後來基督之血在十字架隱隱然呼救萬民遙相影射”, and that God favored Abel’s sacrifice of the firstlings of his flock, so “the sacrifice in the ritual of redemption must be a

²⁶⁸ Bu Wangpian, “Kong You Xing Yinwang Ru Yisao” 恐有行淫妄如以掃 [Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 477 (23/2/1878): 4666.

²⁶⁹ Chen Yunpeng (陳雲鵬), “Wei Chuan Daoyi zhi Nuoya Ji Qi Juan Ju Baren Dejiu” 惟傳道義之挪亞暨其眷聚八人得救 [And spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness], *WGGB* vol. 11 no. 545 (28/6/1879): 6433.

first-born sheep, because that first-born sheep is referring to Christ 贖罪之法必以首生之羊爲赦祭蓋羊即指點後來之基督也”²⁷⁰. However, Qian’s interpretation is rather a minor voice. Only Qian and Lu Congzhou elaborated the stories of the Old Testament as the prefiguration of the New Testament.

In addition, the Chinese Protestant Christians also rewrote the story of the Old Testament in order to suit their own need. In an article entitled “For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us (Rom. 8: 18)”, the Chinese Protestant Christian writer Qingchuan Yilao (晴川逸老) has quoted the story of Job in the Old Testament.²⁷¹ In the Bible, when Job was suffering, three of his friends came and comfort him by asking him to repent, and Job believed himself innocent and therefore his suffering is not punishment from God. After the long debate Job asked God to answer him (Job 31: 35), and “Then the LORD answered Job out of the whirlwind” (Job 38: 1). But Qingchuan Yilao omitted all these in his writing. Qingchuan Yilao wrote that Job retain his piety after suffering. Three of his friends came and cried with him for

²⁷⁰ Qian Lianxi (錢蓮溪), “Du Shengjing Guankui Sanze” 讀聖經管窺三則 [Three glimpse on reading the Bible], *JHXP* vol. 3 (1870): 1000.

²⁷¹ Qingchuan Yilao (晴川逸老), “Wo Wei Jinshi Sui Ku Ran yi Wo Zhong Jiang Xian zhi Rong Jiao zhi Buzu Wei yi ye” 我謂今時雖苦然以我中將顯之榮較之不足爲意也 [For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 360 (30/10/1875): 1651-1652.

seven days, “saying nothing 相對無言”, and then Job suddenly understood that what he worried in the past would be prosper, do not need to be depressed 昔所憂心悄悄者後得榮華矣不必鬱鬱”, therefore “calamity passed and fortune came 禍去福來”²⁷². In his interpretation, it is simply a story that Job retain his piety in his suffering, and an epiphany came and he realize that the prosperity in this world is depended on God therefore no need to worry for future.

The reception of the Old Testament by the Chinese Protestant Christians is partial and fragmentary; they mainly focused on the moral of the stories in the Old Testament, it is partly because they believed that the New Testament is the main part of teaching of Christianity. One may recall the fact that the Old Testament is rejected by some early church communities such as the Marcionite, and different schools of exegesis tried to link the Old Testament with the New Testament, Irenaeus suggested the historical linkage and the school of Alexandria suggested the allegorical interpretation in order to seek the hidden meaning in the Old Testament.²⁷³ The Chinese Protestant

Christians paid relatively less attention to the Old Testament, and they tended

²⁷² Qingchuan Yilao, “Wo Wei Jinshi Sui Ku Ran yi Wo Zhong Jiang Xian zhi Rong Jiao zhi Buzu Wei yi ye”, 1652

²⁷³ My account for the history of interpretation of Bible was based heavily on Robert Grant’s work, see Robert Grants and David Tracy, *A Short History of the Interpretation of The Bible* (London: SCM Press, 1984), 8-83.

to elaborate the hidden moral and anagogical meaning of the verses in the Old Testament. It seemed to be the heritage of the early church communities.

3.3 Chinese Protestant Christians' Reception of the New Testament

The Chinese Protestant Christians' reception of the New Testament is mainly on the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. There are 69 articles entitled verses from the New Testament, in which 37 are on the four gospels and 4 are on Acts. Another focus was on the teaching of morality. These two themes can be represented by the two writing competitions held by *JHXP*. The topic of the two competitions were both Biblical verses, the first is "But whom say ye that I am" (Matt 16: 15), another is "Test everythings; hold fast that which is good"²⁷⁴ (1 Thess. 5: 21). It is clear also that the missionaries' preference affected the reception of the Bible of the Chinese Protestant Christians.

In addition, there were series of articles on "Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18: 36) and "And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power" (Luke 4: 32). These two topics attracted 7 and 5 articles respectively. It is clear that for the Chinese Protestant Christians, the teaching of Christ is the central message of the New Testament. As Li Chunsheng pointed out, the New Testament

²⁷⁴ The verse is amended because KJV's wording "Prove all things" is difficult for our discussion.

“recorded the Holy Son came down to earth and preach *Tiandao*, established the holy teaching, die for the earth and redeem the sin of human. After he died he ascended to Heaven, sent his disciple to preach Dao, encourage others to depend on the Lord and worship the Heaven in order to have infinite blessing after death. All the matters about the nether world are recorded in the book 備載聖子降凡來歷在世傳天道立聖教爲世捐軀贖人罪愆死後升天遺徒傳道勉人賴主宗天冀獲逝後無窮之福凡事之有關於幽冥者莫不備載其間”²⁷⁵

It is not surprising that the Chinese Protestant Christians found the message of Christ the most important message in the New Testament. It is the second theme, the idea of morality, which is more special in the reception of Chinese Protestant Christians. The Chinese Protestant Christians related much verses to the theme of morality and sometimes ignoring the original message of the context. The emphasis on the reward of moral behavior and punishment of immorality will further be explained in Chapter 5, here only the tendency of linking unrelated verses to the theme is portrayed.

In discussing the verse “If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them” (John 13: 17), Bu Wangpian developed a discussion on morality far from the original context. The verse is a statement of Jesus after he washed the feet of his disciple and taught them that “The servant is not greater than his lord; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him” (John 13: 16).

²⁷⁵ Li Chunsheng, “Shu You Wan Buke Que Dao You Shi Suo Bi Zong”, 448.

But Bu Wangpian elaborated from this verse that material enjoyment including beautiful clothes (華衣), wine (酒), sex (女色) and wealth (銀錢財帛) cannot bring real happiness, therefore they must be abandoned²⁷⁶, and one should be content with what he had (知足) in order to always have a “heart of thanksgiving 常常存個感恩的心”.²⁷⁷ He further suggested that happiness started from believing in God, and guiding by the Holy Spirit to have good behavior, it is the middle course of happiness, and the salvation after death is the destination of happiness 信靠救主這是得福的起首蒙聖靈引導可以行善是得福的中途死後得救是得福的究竟”.²⁷⁸ This interpretation of the verse demonstrated how the teaching of morality is especially emphasized in the reception of the New Testament. Despite the emphasis the Chinese Protestant Christians’ placed on the moral teachings and life of Jesus, none of Jesus’ parables was chosen to be interpreted.

Problems raised on the New Testament were mainly on specific nouns appeared in the New Testament. In an article entitled “Eleven Questions”, all questions are on the name of different places and people. The writer of the

²⁷⁶ Bu Wangpian, “Er ruo Zhi Ci Er Xing Zhi Ze Fu Yi” 爾若知此而行之則福矣 [If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 461 (27/10/1877): 4235.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 4236.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 4237.

article wanted to know where the places including Hebrew 希伯來, Judea 猶太, Cilicia 基利家, Tarsus 大數, Damascus 大馬色, Jerusalem 耶路撒冷, Nazareth 拿撒勒, Ananias 亞拿尼亞, Rome 羅馬, Antipatris 安提帕底 and Caesarea 該撒利亞 were, how far were these places from Peking. Noted that Ananias was actually the name of two different person appeared in Acts 5: 1-5 and 9: 10-17, but not a name of a place. He also wanted to know about the life of Stephen 士提反, Saul 掃羅, the meaning of the word “Christ 基督”, Felix 腓力士 and Claudius Lysias 革老丟呂西亞. In addition, the noun “Pharisee” and “Sadducee” also confused him much.²⁷⁹

There was an article by *Gonghuan Shi*(公桓氏) in the early *WGGB*. This article was a response to the article by Cai Hongzhang mentioned above. His article commented on the Bible that “There are lines agreed with the teaching of Confucius the sage, it should be true that sage appeared in the West. But there are still problems in the book that cannot be answered 間有與孔聖之道相合者西方有聖人信不誣也惟書中猶有可疑而不能釋然者”, that since Jesus said in the Bible that some of his contemporary would “see the Kingdom of Heaven before death 未死之先克見上帝國”, as shown in Matthews 16: 28; Mark 9: 1 and Luke 9: 27. So he asked, “Why [he] did not

²⁷⁹ “Qiujiiao Shiyi ze” 求教十一則[Eleven Questions], *WGGB* vol.7 no. 320 (16/1/1875): :551

return to this world after a thousand and some hundreds years until now? 何以至今千數百年仍未見復臨人世耶”.²⁸⁰ There are no answers from Chinese Protestant Christians to his article.

Conclusion

In sum, the Chinese Protestant Christians believed that their mission of interpreting the Bible is to explain the Christian faith to the Chinese audiences, they often reduced the complexities in the text and brought out the “main meaning 大義” of the text. This is partly because they were conscious that they were only reading a translation of the Bible, and the difficulties they met in reading the Chinese Bible may only be caused by mistranslation, and therefore sometimes they did not stick to the Chinese wordings. Through the above sketch, it can be observed that the Chinese Protestant Christians believed that the Bible teaches mainly two ideas, namely the moral lessons and the life of Jesus Christ. The stories of Old Testament were interpreted as the historical evidence that God would reward those who are righteousness and punish those who are sinner. The New Testament is mainly a book on morality and Jesus, while the advice of the epistles were often viewed as universal moral law, and the teaching of Jesus were interpreted as teaching of

²⁸⁰ Gonghuan Shi (公桓氏), “Gonghuan Shi Gao” 公桓氏稿 [Article from Gonghuan Shi], *WGGB* vol. 7 no. 304 (26/9/1874): 113.

morality, too. On the other hand, the parables in the teaching of Jesus were almost ignored. The tendency of reductionism is quite clear.

Chapter 4

Christianity, Heterodoxy and Social Order

As mentioned before, the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians were living in a hostile social situation. In this part, their writings will be analyzed in the light of this context. First we will revisit the social context and highlight two very important points: the accusation of heterodox sect and the ideal of the Kingdom of Heaven.

This chapter will explore the interpretation of the Bible by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians in the light of their socio-political context. On the one hand, the accusation that Christianity is a heterodoxy (邪教, *Xiejiao*) that would harm the social order and the political regime is concluded after examining different placards and articles by the late Qing Chinese. In response to it, Chinese Protestant Christians tried to demonstrate that Christianity would not disturb the existing social order because it cares only the life after death. On the other hand, seeing the decline of Qing dynasty, Chinese Protestant Christians believed that Christianity could help promote social order and even reform China, they argued that Christianity can help promote better social order in China. The two very different reactions to the context signified not that the meaning of the Bible is totally dependent on the

attitude of different readers, but that the Chinese Protestant Christians employed different methods under the strategy of negotiations with the context.

4.1 Late Qing Context: Christianity as Heterodoxy

The accusation that Christianity is a source of heterodoxy is discovered early, but its importance is underestimated. Lu Shiqiang thinks that it was only the custom of the Qing officials.²⁸¹ Paul Cohen suggests that it originated in the differentiation of orthodoxy-heterodoxy rooted in traditional Confucianism. Therefore it is Confucianism which rejected Christianity²⁸² and is one of the reasons for the gentry's opposition to Christianity.²⁸³ Jacques Gernet points out that the Catholics also suffered from this accusation in the late Ming and early Qing periods. Gernet suggests that the idea of heterodoxy is a means by which the government regulated religions. Religions are not treated as an autonomous power out of the government's control, because there is no concept of the separation between church and state in the

²⁸¹ Lu Shiqiang (呂實強), *Zhongguo Guanshen Fanjiao de Yuanyin 1860-1874* 中國官紳反教的原因 1860-1874 [The origin and cause of the anti-Christian movement by Chinese officials and gentry: 1860-1874] (Taipei: Zhongguo Xueshu Zhuzuo Jiangzhu Weiyuanhui, 1966), 171-174.

²⁸² Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), 4-20.

²⁸³ Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870*, 77-82.

Chinese tradition.²⁸⁴ However, Gernet does not think that this accusation posed a great threat to the believers.

It is important to note that the idea of heterodoxy is linked to rebellion in the eyes of the Qing court. Qi Ying (耆英, 1787-1858), the representative of the Qing court in the negotiations over the Nanking Treaty (1842), in persuading the emperor Daoguang (道光帝, 1782-1850, reign from 1821) to permit preaching Christianity, wrote in 1845:

Catholicism was introduced to China by Matteo Ricci in the former dynasty of Ming, it is inevitable that some fools from each province were seduced into the sect. But for 200 years they did not make any trouble, eventually they were different from heterodox sects like White Lotus, Eight Trigrams and White Sun. 天主教自前明西洋麗瑪竇傳入中國各省愚民被惑入教所在難免惟二百余年並未滋事究與白蓮八卦白陽等項邪教不同²⁸⁵

Emperor Daoguang replied:

But [Christian missionaries] are not allowed to recruit people from places far away, seduce and incite them together with the criminals to become gangs and violate the laws...these behaviors are violation of laws. 但不得招集遠鄉之人勾結煽誘並不法之徒藉稱習教結黨爲非及別教之人濶迹假冒俱屬有干法紀²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Jacques Gernet, Janet Lloyd trans., *China and the Christian Impact: a Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 105; 109.

²⁸⁵ *Qingmo Jiaonan* 清末教案 [Missionary Cases in late Qing] (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1996), vol. 1, 3-4.

²⁸⁶ *Qingmo Jiaonan*, vol. 1, 13.

For the Qing court, the judgment of heterodoxy on a sect relies on the teaching and behavior of the sect in question. If the sect “make trouble (作亂)”, then it is a heterodox sect. The White Lotus sect, the Eight Trigrams sect and the White Sun sect led uprisings in Chinese history. In 1845, after the first imperial aggression, the Qing court did not think that Christianity was the conspirator in imperialism or opium trading. They only focused on whether Christianity was a heterodox sect which would bring rebellion, and they believed that Christianity was not a heterodox sect. However, decades later, Christianity became a heterodox sect in the eyes of Chinese common people. Therefore, the major concern was on whether Christianity would threaten the Qing regime and the social order or not.

In this part, the political nature behind the accusation against Christianity will further be elaborated. The legacy of Taiping Rebellion and the fact that Christian practices and ideas conflicted with a set of Chinese traditional values named *Mingjiao* (名教) and created fear in traditional Chinese society. Accusation of sorcery practice also contained political charges. Finally, the building of the church further strengthened the rumors of Christian conspiracy.

4.1.1 Legacy of the Taiping Rebellion

The Taiping Rebellion (1851-64) in the midst of the Qing dynasty affected half of China. Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全, 1814-64), a *Xiucan* (秀才) degree holder in Guangdong province, met two Protestant missionaries and received from them the tracts *Good Words Exhorting the Age* (勸世良言) written by the earliest Chinese pastor Liang Fa (梁發, 1789-1855). He was ill because of his continual failure in the Civil Service Examination, and in his delirium he saw visions. After he read the tracts of Liang Fa he believed that Christianity was the key to his visions. He believed that he was the second son of the Heavenly Father and the little brother of Jesus; his mission on earth was to exterminate the demons. Afterwards, he and his friends organized the *Bai Shangdi Hui* (拜上帝會, literally Association of the God Worshipper) in 1844. In 1851, the association declared revolution and named their regime *Taiping Tianguo* (太平天國, literally 'Heavenly Kingdom with Great Peace'). The troops were nicknamed "longhair" because they did not obey the tonsure decree issued by the Qing government. They occupied half of China and established a capital in Nanjing. Zeng Guofan (曾國藩, 1811-1872) organized local militia and finally captured Nanjing in 1864, destroying the Taiping regime. Around 20 million people died in this rebellion.

Christianity had a strong relationship with the Taiping rebellion. After Hong received his vision and before the rebellion broke out, he went to Hong Kong and received instruction from the missionary Issachar Roberts (羅孝全, 1802-1871) of the Southern Baptist Convention.²⁸⁷ Hong's brother Hong Rengan (洪仁玕, 1822-1864) was a preacher in Hong Kong and a friend of missionary James Legge before he became "Prince Gan" in the Taiping Regime.²⁸⁸ Although they only practiced a kind of syncretism of Christianity and Chinese popular religions, they destroyed the temples of popular religions. The Taiping rebels forbade opium smoking and foot-binding. They also promoted monogamy among common people.²⁸⁹ Therefore missionaries expected that the revolution would transform China into a Christian country. This complicated relationship between the Taiping rebellion and Christianity brought negative consequences to the spread of Christianity in China. Latourette suggests that one of the consequences of the rebellion was to strengthen the belief of Qing officials that the spread of Christianity would

²⁸⁷ Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiu-Quan* (New York: Norton, 1996), 92-93.

²⁸⁸ Su Jing (蘇精), *Shangdi de Renma : Shijiu Shiji Zaihua Chuanjiaoshi de Zuowei* 上帝的人馬：十九世紀在華傳教士的作為 [Under God's command : Papers on early protestant missionaries in China] (Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 2006), 165-185.

²⁸⁹ For more on the Taiping Rebellion, see Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiu-Quan*.

encourage rebellious sects that threatened the political and social structure of the Qing Empire.²⁹⁰ However, researchers seldom notice that this belief was also shared by Chinese common people.

It is not difficult to find evidence for this. The *Raozhou Diyi Shangxinren* (饒州第一傷心人, literally “The most heart-broken man in Raozhou”) suggested that “In the late Daoguang period, the rebels Yang Xiuqing, Hong Xiuquan, believed in that teaching (Christianity) and rallied together to start rebellion 至道光末年乃有楊秀清洪秀全等奉其教群起倡亂”.²⁹¹ The people in Nanyang (南陽) emphasized in their petition on expelling Christianity that “the hairy rebels in Guangdong and Guangxi were originally law-abiding people. After they had practiced the teaching [of Christianity] for a long time, they became rebels. Claim [to worship] Heavenly Father and Heavenly Brother, did not respect gods and pay tribute to the ancestors 粵西髮逆本係良民徒以服習其教久成叛逆稱天父稱天兄不敬神祇不祀祖考”²⁹². They emphasized that Christian doctrine is the origin of the Taiping Rebellion.

²⁹⁰ K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Mission of China* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 301.

²⁹¹ Raozhou Diyi Shangxinren (饒州第一傷心人), ‘Tianzhu Xiejiao Jishuo 天主邪教集說 [Some Views on the Evil Teaching of Lord of Heaven], in Wang Minglun (王明倫) ed. *Fan Yangjiao Shuwen Jietie Xuan* 反洋教書文揭帖選 [Selection of notices, placards and articles against Christianity] (Jinan: Qilu shu she, 1984), 8.

²⁹² “Nanyang Shenmin Gongcheng” 南陽紳民公呈 [A Petition from the Gentries and Commoners in Nanyang], in Wang Minglun ed., *Fan Yangjiao Shuwen Jietie Xuan*, 18.

They suggested that Christian doctrine advocated the abolishment of social order, “That religion [Christianity] had no respect to emperor and father, only worship Jesus, this is without discipline. They did not have affection with their relatives, only honor the bishops, this is without ethics 彼教無君父之尊親惟耶穌之是奉是無綱紀也無骨肉之親愛惟主教之是崇是無倫常也”, the foreigner use this “teaching of the beast to transform the law-abiding people into naught people 彼以禽獸之教化良民爲莠民”²⁹³. Lu Shiqiang believes that these accusations only reflect the suspicious attitude of the intellectuals towards Christianity. Intellectuals believed that the final aim of the missionaries who preached Christianity in China was to occupy China.²⁹⁴ However, these accusations seldom mentioned the role of the foreign missionaries. Their emphasis was mainly on how the teaching of Christianity transformed the Chinese into rebels and lead to the Taiping Rebellion.

This idea is more explicit in Zeng Guofan’s condemnation on the Taiping Rebellion. In his “Tao Yuefi Xi” (討粵匪檄, Declaration of War against Rebels in Guangdong) written in 1854, he suggested that

²⁹³ “Nanyang Shenmin Gongcheng”, 17-18.

²⁹⁴ Lu Shiqiang, “Wanqing Zhongguo Zhishifenzi Dui Jidujiao Zaihua Chuanjiao Mude de Yiju (1860-1898)” 晚清中國知識份子對基督教在華傳教目的的疑懼 (1860-1898) [The Suspicion on the Aims of Christian Mission in China by the late Qing Chinese Intellectuals (1860-1898)], in *Taiwan Shida Lishi Xuebao* 臺灣師大歷史學報 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue Lishi Xuexi) vol. 3 (1975): 155.

“Since Tang, Yu and the three generations, sages of different generations advocated *Mingjiao* (名教, literally the teaching on proper titles), emphasized human relations. [The status of] Emperor and ministers, Father and son, the upper and lower class cannot be reverted. The rebels in Guangdong made use of the ideas from the foreign barbarians, following the teaching of Tianzhu, they called everyone brothers despite their different status and said that only Heaven can be called father 自唐虞三代以來歷世聖人扶持名教敦敘人倫君臣父子上下尊卑秩然如冠履之不可倒置粵匪竊外夷之緒崇天主之教自其僞君僞相下逮兵卒賤役皆與兄弟稱之謂惟天可稱父”.²⁹⁵

The idea of equality clearly contradicted the *Mingjiao* in Chinese tradition. He especially emphasized how the Taiping rebels abandoned the Chinese traditions and threatened the status of literati, that

“Literati cannot read the Classics of Confucius, instead they have the learning of Jesus and the New Testament, [they] sweep away the rite, humanity and classics of thousands years of China. It is not only a rebellion on our Qing government, but an utmost destruction of *Mingjiao* since the dawn of civilization. Our Confucius and Mencius would cry painfully in the underworld. How can any literati fold his hands in his sleeves and do nothing?士不能誦孔子之經而別有耶穌之說新約之書舉中國數千年禮義人倫詩書典則一旦掃地蕩盡此豈獨我大清之變乃開闢以來名教之奇變我孔子孟子之所痛哭九泉凡讀書識字者又焉能袖手坐觀”²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Zeng Guofan (曾國藩), “Tao Yuefei Xi” 討粵匪檄 [Declaration on War with the Rebels in Canton], in *Zuben Zengwenzhenggong QuANJI* 足本曾文正公全集 [The Full Collection of Works by Zeng Guofan] vol. 3 (Changchun: Jilin ren min chu ban she, 1995), 1579-1580.

²⁹⁶ Zeng Guofan (曾國藩), “Tao Yuefei Xi” 討粵匪檄 [Declaration on War with the Rebels in Canton], in *Zu ben Zeng Wenzheng Gong QuANJI* 足本曾文正公全集 [The Full Collection of Works by Zeng Guofan] vol. 3 (Changchun: Jilin ren min chu ban she, 1995), 1579-1580.

Zeng accused the Taiping rebels of abandoning traditional values, the *Mingjiao* of China, and it was because the Taiping rebels believed in the “teaching of *Tianzhu*”, Christianity. For him, the Taiping Rebellion is “The teaching of the Lord of Heaven rampaged in China 天主教之橫行中原”.²⁹⁷ It is undeniable that in the late Qing period, most of the Chinese non-Christians believed that Christianity was the origin of Taiping rebellion, a heterodoxy that taught law-abiding people to become rebels.

4.1.2 *Mingjiao* and Christianity

As shown above, Christianity was believed to be the origin of the rebellion. For many Chinese in the late Qing, Christianity led to rebellion because it violated *Mingjiao*, the Chinese traditional values, and harmed the social order. Researchers often classified the accusations involving terms like *Mingjiao Gangchang* (名教綱常) as accusations from the perspective of Confucian moral philosophy.²⁹⁸ This aspect will be further discussed in the

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 1580.

²⁹⁸ Li Enhan. “Tongzhi Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun” 同治年間反基督教的言論 [The accusations against Christianity in the Tongzhi Period]. In Liu Xiaofeng ed., *Dao yu yan: Huaxia Wenhua yu Jidu Wenhua Xiangyu* 道與言：華夏文化與基督教文化相遇 [Principle and Logos: The meeting of Chinese Culture and Christian Culture] (Shanghai: Joint Publisher, 1995), 217. See also Lu Shiqiang, *Zhongguo Guanshen Fanjiao de Yuanyin 1860-1874*, 12-45.

next chapter; this chapter only deals with the political nature of the accusation of heterodoxy.

The condemnation against Christianity is almost exactly the same with the condemnation against the Taiping rebels. The gentry in Hunan accused Christianity as no ancestors 無祖宗, no father and son 無父子, no husband and wife 無夫婦, no shame 無廉恥, no shame on evil 無羞惡²⁹⁹; a placard in Hengyang (衡陽) condemned Christianity as “no heaven, no sages, no parents and ancestors 無天無聖無父母無祖宗”, “destroying the ethic and reverting *gangchang* 敗滅倫常顛倒綱常”.³⁰⁰ The concept *gangchang* means literally disciplines (*gang*) and norms (*chang*). The five norms are benevolence (仁), justice (義), rites (禮), wisdom (智) and honesty (信) from Confucianism, and the three disciplines are: Ministers should obey the emperor, sons should obey their father, and wives should obey their husband. These are found in *Hanfei Zi* (韓非子), a classic from the school of Legalism (法家)³⁰¹, but incorporated into some of the Confucian tradition in late Han dynasty.³⁰² And in Zeng’s

²⁹⁹ Li Enhan. “Tongzhi Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun”, 213.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 214.

³⁰¹ *Hanfeizi* (韓非子), chapter 51: “Ministers serve for the emperor, sons serve for [their] fathers, wives serve for [their] husbands. Achieving these three will lead to social stability; failing to achieving these three will lead to social disorder. This is a regular pattern.” [臣事君，子事父，妻事夫，三者順則天下治，三者逆則天下亂，此天下之常道也]

³⁰² *Baihu Tongyi* (白虎通義) ch. 7: “What are the three disciplines? [They are] the emperor and ministers, father and sons, husband and wives.” [三綱者何謂也？謂君臣、父

condemnation, although Confucius and Mencius are mentioned, the emphasis is placed on the *Mingjiao* as the relationship between the emperor and minister, father and son, the upper class and lower class. These were traditional social structures that constituted the stability of social order. Therefore, the charge is not moral but political. The essential part of the accusation is that Christianity is harmful to the stability of social order and threatening the authority of the existing government.

The same accusation was also faced by Chinese Catholics in the late Ming and early Qing period. They were criticized as destroying social order built on *Mingjiao* by advocating everyone could worship God regardless of their social status.³⁰³ Jacques Gernet suggests that the emperor held total power over the organization of society and the universe, the secular and sacred sphere, by imposing order upon the world through inauguration ceremonies, the diffusion of the calendar, the bestowal of titles and names, and the classification of the various cults and deities.³⁰⁴ Therefore, all sects that qualified as orthodox had to be integrated into the hierarchy of cults patronized by the state, help encourage public morality and cement social

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³⁰³ Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact*, 106-8.

³⁰⁴ Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact*, 105.

order.³⁰⁵ Ray Huang further suggests that the whole empire was formed by thousands of little villages bounded by ritual and morality;³⁰⁶ the aim of the emperor's practice of rites was to strengthen the sacredness of the emperor and maintain the system.³⁰⁷ Any challenges to this system would jeopardize the whole empire. Huang believes that Ming and Qing institutions were the same in anchoring themselves in ideological cohesion as the common denominator to accommodate the masses. Huang suggests that the format of Civil Service Examinations, the procedures for personnel evaluation, and the operation of local government were the evidence for this.³⁰⁸

Jacques Gernet suggests that in responding to the accusation, the Chinese Catholics portrayed themselves as men who aspired only to heaven, scorning worldly possessions, and not rebellious against the civil power.³⁰⁹ They even suggested that the teaching on morality in Catholicism could help revive

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ray Huang, *1587, a Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 50-51. He further explained that the moral character is "younger generation to venerate the old, the women to obey their menfolk, and the illiterate to follow the examples set by the learned", see 22.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 47, 85-86.

³⁰⁸ Ray Huang, *China: A Macro History* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 219.

³⁰⁹ Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact*, 109-110.

Confucianism.³¹⁰ As we shall see below, Chinese Protestants made similar claims regarding this accusation.

4.1.3 Sorcery, Rebellion and Heterodoxy

The accusations about the sorcerous practices of Christianity also hint at Christianity being taken as heterodox teaching. Previous researchers suggest that the rumors spread because of cultural differences and misunderstandings. The rumors of missionaries scooping out the eyes and hearts of the dying Chinese were some of the very first rumors against Christianity. Wei Yuan's (魏源, 1794-1857) *Haiguo Tuzhi* (海國圖志), written in 1843, claimed that the missionaries scooped out the eyes of Chinese for alchemical purposes.³¹¹ Li Enhan suggested that it was because the Chinese spied on the operations of medical missionaries but did not understand the medical technology³¹², and Lu Shiqiang further suggests that the belief that the human body was used in alchemical operation was common in traditional Chinese heterodoxy.³¹³ Lu believes that the rumors relating to adultery between missionaries and converts spread because of the cultural differences between China and

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Wei Yuan (魏源), *Haiguo Tuzhi* 海國圖志 [Records with Pictures of the Overseas Countries], in *Xuxiu Shiku Chuanshu* 續修四庫全書 vol. 743 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1995), 561.

³¹² Li Enhan. "Tongzhi Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun", 211.

³¹³ Lu Shiqiang, *Zhongguo Guanshen Fanjiao de Yuanyin 1860-1874*, 139.

Western countries. At that time Chinese culture emphasized the separation between men and women. They believed that men and women being in the same place were not appropriate unless they were married. These taboos were transgressed in Christian churches. Men and women participated in different activities in Christian churches and they were misunderstood as committing adultery.³¹⁴ Li Enhan suggested that Christian rituals were seen as sorcery because they were totally alien in the eyes of the gentry.³¹⁵ After baptism, converts were asked to destroy the idols they had previously worshipped, and therefore in the eyes of non-Christians, converts become insane after baptism.³¹⁶ However, researchers did not notice the political motives behind the accusations of practicing sorcery and heterodoxy.

The connection between sorcery and heterodoxy is demonstrated in the legal code of the Qing government. The Qing government clearly forbade sorcery in article 162 of the Qing Code entitled *Prohibitions Concerning Sorcerers and Sorceresses*. According to this law, what counted as sorcery included “call up evil spirits, or draw charms and chant into the water, or make offering to the sacred bird”, and claim to be a society such as “Maitreya

³¹⁴ Lu Shiqiang, *Zhongguo Guanshen Fanjiao de Yuanyin 1860-1874*, 34-36.

³¹⁵ Li Enhan. “Tongzhi Nienjian fan Jidujiao de Yanlun”, 206.

³¹⁶ “Hunan Hesheng Gongxi” 湖南合省公檄 [Accusation by the Whole Province of Hunan], in Wang Minglun ed. *Fan Yangjiao Shuwen Jietie Xuan*, 4.

Buddha, White Lotus Society, Manichaeism and Sect of White Clouds, all of which were heretical, or in the case of those who hide portraits [of heretical figures], or those who burn incense and gather together, who gather at night and disperse in the day, simulate virtuous actions and incite the people”³¹⁷, alchemy, “teaching and learning different kinds of sorcery” and “learning the incantations of heterodox sects like White Sun, White Lotus and Eight Trigrams”. Those breaking the law would be hanged to death.³¹⁸ Another law relating to sorcery practice was article 289, which forbade the *Gu* (蠱) practice along with other practices that killed people by different kinds of poison.³¹⁹ However, this article obviously focused not on sorcery but on killing people. The relationship between sorcery and heterodox sects is clear: rituals of heterodox sects are counted as sorcery, in other words, those who practice sorcery can only be heterodox sects. A case will be investigated below in order to demonstrate the close connection between sorcery, heterodoxy and political stability.

³¹⁷ *The Great Qing Code*, article 162. William C. Jones’s translation is largely used. See William C. Jones translated, *The Great Qing Code* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 174.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ *The Great Qing Code*, article 289. William C. Jones translated, *The Great Qing Code*, 274-276.

Rumors spread in Wuchang in the summer of 1876. The content of the rumor was that the pigtails of Chinese were being secretly cut short, and that whoever lost a part of his pigtail would die in three days. Several versions add that the tail cut was to be tied to a tree, and it was the lord of the sect who called away their souls and by some mysterious process changed them into invisible soldiers, whom he could lead forth to battle against his enemies.³²⁰ The reporter of the foreign magazine *North China Daily News* scorned at the "marvellous credulity and superstition of the Chinese mind"³²¹, and what concerned the foreigners in the very beginning of the mania was that those who sold the counteracting charms were doing a successful business.³²² However, when the blame came upon the missionaries, they accused the literati of spreading such "intolerable nonsense".³²³ These rumors undoubtedly excited anti-Christian feeling. The report further attacked the Qing bureaucracy, retired officials and literati for their support of these activities.³²⁴ The charges of the foreign reporters cannot be proved. The placards which suggested the connection between the pigtail-cutting practice

³²⁰ *North China Daily News* (Shanghai: North China Herald), 4/8/1876: 119.

³²¹ *North China Daily News*, 4/8/1876: 119.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *North China Daily News*, 11/8/1876: 143.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

and missionaries appeared on 5/8/1876, and they suggested that the missionaries started the mania.³²⁵

In *Qing Shilu* (清實錄), the case was first reported to the central government on 21/7/1876. Officials in the central government believed that the case was related to a traditional heterodox sect, Gelao Hui (哥老會).³²⁶ It was probably because the same sorcerous practice occurred before in the Qianlong era.³²⁷ On 1/10/1876, the central government urged Shen Baozhen (沈葆楨, 1820-1879), the responsible official of the case, to end the case as soon as possible because “rumors spread all over the country, people were agitated, and the churches [of Christianity] was involved 訛言四起民情驚擾並有牽涉教堂等語”. They believed that these criminals “once were caught, [they] often falsely claim themselves as Christians, in the hope to be spared. The risk of starting conflicts between China and foreign countries is high 一經獲案往往詭托天主教以圖倖免尤易啓中外之釁.”³²⁸ However, it was not the false accusations made by arrested criminals which started the accusation

³²⁵ *North China Daily News*, 5/8/1876, 123.

³²⁶ *Qing Shilu* 清實錄 vol. 52 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1985-1987), 488.

³²⁷ On the Soul-stealing event in Qianlong era, see Philip Kuhn, *Soulstealers* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990).

³²⁸ *Qing Shilu* vol. 52, 551-552.

against the churches, because the accusations started much earlier than the criminals were caught.³²⁹

The origin of this sorcerous practice was undoubtedly in Chinese sects. There were similar rumors in 1768 and 1844, but only the mania in 1876 involved the missionaries. And the governor of Nanjing especially issued a decree to clarify to the masses that this practice was done by members of the White Lotus Sect.³³⁰ In the 1768 mania, as Philip Kuhn suggests, Buddhist monks were dangerous in the eyes of commoners because they were wanderers with special spiritual powers. The absence of community ties signified that they did not have social inhibitions and community responsibilities. Therefore they became suspected of practicing sorcery.³³¹ The missionaries in the 19th Century were more dangerous than the Buddhist monks in the eyes of local Chinese. They were promoting a God that was totally new to the Chinese; their religious practices, costumes, habits and

³²⁹ Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo (中央研究院. 近代史研究所), *Jiaowu Jiao'an Dang Di 3 ji: Tongzhi 10 nian - Guangxu 4 nian vol. 1* 教務教案檔：同治10年 - 光緒4年 [Documents on Missions and Missionary Cases: 1871-1877] (Taipei: Nan gang qu, 1976), 629.

³³⁰ J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religion System of China*, vol. 5 (Taipei, Taiwan: Literature House, 1964), 489-490.

³³¹ Philip Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 114.

classics were totally different from Chinese. Not to mention that they did not have social inhibitions or community responsibilities.

The political implication of the tail-cutting should not be ignored. The Tonsure decree was issued by the Qing court in 1644, that Han Chinese was forced to adopt a hair tail as a sign of submission. Violent suppression of those who offended this decree continued through the whole Qing dynasty.³³² Cutting the tail voluntarily came to symbolize revolutionary ideals, as with the Taiping rebels, and cutting off the tail of others was to force them to display symbolic defiance.³³³ The persecution of the practice in 1768 was mainly for sedition³³⁴, and the repression in 1876 was for public disorder. It is clear that tail-cutting implied betrayal.

The accusations of heterodoxy and sorcerous practice are inseparable. For the late Qing Chinese, only heterodox sects would practice sorcery, and the power of sorcery would destroy social stability. Similarly, the aim of heterodox sects was to destroy social order and rebel against the existing government. It led to the fear and hatred of Chinese Protestant Christians and Christianity.

³³² Philip Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 53-56.

³³³ *Ibid*, 59.

³³⁴ *Ibid*, 145-146.

4.1.4 Conflicts over the Building of Churches

The fear and hatred was multiplied by the building of churches. As the ultimate goal of a heterodox sect was to overthrow the existing regime, the heterodox sect needed a place to gather believers and practice sorcery. In the eyes of late Qing Chinese, Christian churches were such places. The underlying cause of the conflicts was the fear of rebels.

The conflicts over the issue of building churches are part of the consequences of the unequal treaties. The Convention of Peking (1860) permitted missionaries to preach and build churches in the inland areas of China, and the Catholic churches that were confiscated by the Qing government in the mid 17th Century would be returned.³³⁵ Previous researchers suggest several reasons for the conflicts. Scholars from mainland China like Gu Zhangsheng (顧長聲) believes that the missionaries took over the land of Chinese laymen without paying adequate compensation, and this stimulated the 'anti-imperialistic sentiment of the mass'.³³⁶ Lu Shiqiang agrees that the bad attitude of the missionaries was one of the causes of the

³³⁵ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiyong yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 32; Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 215.

³³⁶ Gu Changsheng (顧長聲), *Chuanjiaoshi yu Jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 [Missionaries and Modern China] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe: Xinhua shudian Shanghai fa xing suo fa xing, 1981), 128-133.

conflicts³³⁷, but he also suggests that traditional customs and superstitions (*Mixin* 迷信) exacerbated the hatred towards Christian Church building.³³⁸ Conflicts between Christianity and traditional Geomancy (*Fengshui* 風水) concepts are termed as cultural-religious conflicts by some other scholars.³³⁹ However, these explanations only explain the immediate cause to the conflicts in different cases. Lu suggests that in the view of Chinese intellectuals, Christian mission in China was one of the means for the foreign powers to overthrow the Chinese government, but he does not relate this to conflicts over the building of churches.³⁴⁰

In his book *China and the Christian Impact*, Jacques Gernet points out that one of the reasons for forbidding Catholicism in late Ming and early Qing China is that officials thought that the act of building churches in China was suspicious.³⁴¹ Yang Guangxian (楊光先, 1597-1669), a Chinese official who severely attacked Catholicism, suggested that the church building was “to place the members of the evil sect in the strategic places in thirteen provinces

³³⁷ Lu Shiqiang, *Zhongguo guan shen fan jiao de yuan yin 1860-1874*, 63-82.

³³⁸ *Ibid*, 150.

³³⁹ Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 229.

³⁴⁰ Quoted from Lu Shiqiang, “Wanqing Zhongguo Zhishifenzi dui Jidujiao Zaihua Chuanjiao Mude de Yiju (1860-1898)”, 148.

³⁴¹ Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: The Conflict of Culture*, 113-117.

of the Qing territory 而棋布邪教之黨羽于大清十三省要害之地”, and if the government “is not conscious of these hidden barbarians, if they started rebellion after a hundred years, then [you] will know why I must speak [on this issue] 不察伏戎於莽萬一竊發百餘年後將有知予言之不得已者”.³⁴²

Yang’s view echoed the fear of many Chinese in the late Qing and his article is edited into the book *Pi Xie Jishi* (辟邪紀實, True Record on Warding Off Heresy) in 1871, which is one of the most famous anti-Christianity tracts in the period.

As Christianity became a heterodox sect in the eyes of Chinese, it is not surprising that the building of churches met opposition. Both officials and common people believed that churches were bases for anti-government movements. In 1881, gentries in Guangxi opposed the building of churches because they believed that “the church is commonly built for recruiting bandits. The neighbors [of the church] are forbidden to interfere. Now, churches are decided to be built in different places and preaching is allowed, they will communicate with the outsider, nibble up the territory and do harm. Prevention must be made 凡建教堂之處多係招集匪人不容里鄰過問現欲

³⁴² Yang Guangxian (楊光先), “Pixie Lun” 辟邪論 [On Warding Off Heterodoxy], in *Tianxia Diyi Shangxinren* (天下第一傷心人), *Pixie Jishi* 辟邪紀實 [Real Records of Warding Off Heterodoxy], published in 1871.

於南太等府建堂傳教必得裏外勾通蠶食爲害不可不防”。³⁴³ This placard echoes Yang’s article written 200 years before.

Indeed, even temples are strictly regulated under the Qing legal code. In article 162 of the Qing code, the abbot of a temple cannot shelter, accommodate or allow both monks and common people without knowing their background. The purpose of this law was to prevent people from seduction by heterodox sects. Philip Kuhn suggests that the law was partly for the maintenance of political security.³⁴⁴ Religious gatherings were only permitted for worshipping gods and ancestors according to the Chinese calendar, which was promulgated by the emperor. Christian churches never submitted to this law. Their frequent gatherings and esoteric rituals generated fears among the non-Christian Chinese. In order not to violate the Qing law, the missionaries and foreigners forced the Qing government to add this statement in 1870: “for Christian converts, their congregation and prayers are excluded from this law, and those laws that relate to the forbiddance of Christianity have to be deleted”.³⁴⁵ This revision of the law code, of course,

³⁴³ Quoted from Lu Shiqiang, “Wanqing Zhongguo Zhishifenzi Dui Jidujiao Zaihua Chuanjiao Mude de Yiju (1860-1898)”, 149.

³⁴⁴ Philip Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 89-91.

³⁴⁵ K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 307; Henri Cordier, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales 1860-1900*, vol. 3 (Taipei : Ch’eng-wen Pub. Co., 1966), 325-6.

could not reduce the fear of the Chinese people. Chinese Protestant Christians thus were under the accusation of being rebels who would overthrow the existing regime.

4.2 The Decline of the Qing Dynasty

On the other hand, the decline of the Qing dynasty is also obvious. The Qing dynasty passed its peak in the Qianlong era (1736-1795). In 1800-1860, the Qing government suffered two foreign defeats and several rebellions, so some of the intellectuals noticed the crisis and urged for reforms. The imperial aggression of Christian countries led to the fear that China would be partitioned, but Christian missionaries also guided the Chinese in their reform programs. The Chinese Christians, suffering from corrupt government and associating it with the decline of the dynasty, advocated both reform and revolution in this context.

4.2.1 The Corruption of the Qing Administration

It was not difficult for the Chinese Christians to gain first hand experience of the corruption of the Qing officials. They were often victims in what we call ‘missionary cases’. In addition, the missionaries’ intervention of local judicial system probably taught the Chinese Christians how unjust the existing system was. According to statistics compiled by Chen Yinkun (陳銀

崑), there were a total of 811 missionary cases between 1860-1899, and 709 of them were brought about by the Chinese non-Christians.³⁴⁶ Both the victims and the defendant were brought to the trial. However, fair trial was seldom achieved because of the hostile attitude the gentry-officials held towards Chinese Christians and missionary intervention.

Previous researchers often focused on the missionaries' intervention in explaining the Chinese opposition to Christianity. They suggested several consequences of the intervention that antagonized the gentry and officials. First, the missionaries' intervention found its legal foundation in the unequal treaties and this was a violation of the sovereignty of China.³⁴⁷ Second, by gaining extra-territorial rights and intervening in the legal system of China, missionaries threatened the social position of the gentries in local areas.³⁴⁸ Third, missionaries often abused their position.³⁴⁹ Finally, some missionaries hoped to gain converts by protecting criminals. These behaviors stimulated the official's opposition to Christianity. However, researchers often ignore the

³⁴⁶ Chen Yinkun (陳銀崑), *Qingji Minjiao Chongtu de Lianghua Fenxi: 1860-1899* 清季民教衝突的量化分析: 1860-1899 [A Quantitative Analysis on the conflicts of missionary and Chinese in the late Qing Period] (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1991), 12-13.

³⁴⁷ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiyong yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 36.

³⁴⁸ Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism 1860-1870*, 82-86.

³⁴⁹ See also Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiyong yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 40-41; Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism 1860-1870*, 127-148.

fact that the Qing officials did not, and could not, promise a fair trial in missionary cases due to the defects of the judicial system and the corruption of officials.

Instead of the principle of presumption of innocence, the Qing courts presumed all the suspects arrested were guilty. Suspects were tortured in prison. Many Chinese Christians were tortured to death before their trials.³⁵⁰ In the case of Qiu Derong (邱得榮) in 1861, a foreigner sent a letter to the Board of Punishments of the Qing government, not to ask for the immediate release of Qiu, but only to ask for a fair trial. Written in the letter:

“I should not intervene in the case, but I heard that the suspect was tortured and nearly die [in prison]. For this sake I’m writing to request if the responsible department can check up the case immediately. If the suspect is guilty, then punishment should be made according to law, and if he is innocent, he should be released 此事本不應本正使干預惟聞該民人現受重刑看看至死爲此函請貴司可否速即查明該民人果係有罪自應按律辦理若係無辜即爲釋放”.³⁵¹

It is clear that the foreigners could not understand the “judicial procedures” of the Qing officials. Baron Eugène Herman de Mèritens sent a letter directly to the *Zongli Yamen* (總理衙門), which can be seen as the

³⁵⁰ Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism 1860-1870*, 117.

³⁵¹ Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo, *Jiaowu Jiao'an Dang : Xianfeng 10 nian - Tongzhi 5 nian* 教務教案檔：咸豐十年至同治五年 [Documents on Missions and Missionary Cases: 1860-1866] (Taipei shi Nan gang qu, 1974), 173.

cabinet of China at that time, to protest at the severe torture of a suspect.³⁵²

However, the Qing government replied,

“since the statement of every witness clearly indicated that he was guilty, but he did not confess, therefore torture was employed as a means to force his confession, and this was the routine of investigation in the local courts 因眾人供指明確而該犯竟不畫供是以刑訊此係典刑衙門問案之定例”.³⁵³

The Qing court further maintained that visiting the suspect without official permission was not allowed, and warned the foreigners not to visit suspects anymore.³⁵⁴

On the other hand, corruption was common among the Qing bureaucrats. The French ambassador sent a note to the Qing government in 1866 to express his dissatisfaction with the attitudes of the Qing government. He suggested that in one case:

“The suspects pointed out by the bishop are arrested in the morning but released in the evening. And an official named Wang is appointed to handle the case. This man concerned only with material gains. When the bribe came to his hand, the case was overturned 將主教指出之要犯朝

³⁵² Ibid, 174.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, 174-175.

拘而夕放並派一道員王姓辦理此案此人寔係利徒賄賂到手案立反覆³⁵⁵

He believed that it is the Chinese officials who made use of the defects of the Chinese judicial system to threaten the security of Christians. He pointed out that Lo Pingchang (駱秉章, 1793-1867), the governor of Szechuan, not only ignored the advisory notes from the *Zongli Yamen*, but also ignored the decrees of the emperor. Lo promoted two officials that did not manage the case justly, and sheltered Tian Xingshu (田興恕, 1837-1877), a former officer who had encouraged the massacre of Catholics and was sentenced to be exiled. Tian escaped the punishment and stayed in Szechuan by pretending to be sick.³⁵⁶ He advised the Qing court to “move Lo and related officials away from Szechuan, and carefully choose officers to replace them 並將駱秉章及相幫同謀之官均移開川境慎選公正有爲之員肩此大任”. It is clear that in the eyes of foreigners, the Qing court could not promise a fair trial to the Chinese Christians. Chinese Christians probably learned through these experiences that the existing government measures were unreasonable. Lu

³⁵⁵ Ibid, 99-113.

³⁵⁶ For the case of Tian, see Zhang Pengyuan (張朋園), “Lixing yu Aoman: Qingji Guizhou Tian Xingshu Jiao'an Shishi” 理性與傲慢：清季貴州田興恕教案試釋 [Sense and Pride: An Explanation for the case of Tian Xingshu in Guizhou in late Qing], in *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica] (Nangang: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo) no. 17 pt. 1 (1988): 41-51.

Shiqiang suggests that the missionaries had in mind that the converts should enjoy better judicial treatment than their fellow nationals,³⁵⁷ but it is undeniable that the inferior Qing judicial system could not protect the rights of its citizens. On the one hand, the missionaries' intervention can be seen as a kind of "cultural colonialism", on the other hand, it can be seen as civilizing. Nevertheless, Chinese Christians learned the defects of the Qing government through its unjust treatment.

4.2.2 The Advance of the West and the Decline of the Qing court

The Qing government suffered five defeats in external wars before it was overthrown. The First and Second Anglo-Chinese war forced China to open herself to the world, and the Self-Strengthening movement took place. In this period, intellectuals believed that China was defeated only because of its inferiority in science and technology.³⁵⁸ They still believed that the governmental system and culture of China was better than the rest of the world.

The Sino-French War in 1884 ended with the annihilation of the Nanyang fleet (南洋艦隊) and the lost of the protectorate of Annam. Sun

³⁵⁷ Lu Shiqiang, *Zhongguo Guanshen Fanjiao de Yuanyin 1860-1874*, 91.

³⁵⁸ Jonathan Spence, *the Search of Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 195; 215-216; Immanuel Hsü, *the Rise of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 287-288.

Yat-sen (孫逸仙, 1866-1925) decided to overthrow the Qing government in this year because he discovered how corrupt and incompetent the Qing officials were.³⁵⁹ The Sino-Japanese War in 1895 ended more bitterly. The Qing government lost the protectorate of Korea, ceded Formosa to Japan, and the annihilation of the Beiyang fleet (北洋艦隊) signified the total failure of the Self-Strengthening Movement. After the war, it became obvious that the Qing government system was inferior. The Hundred Days' Reform (1898), aimed at reforming the whole system of the Qing government in order to drive out corruption, but the movement failed. Most believed that it was because of the opposition of conservatives and the Empress Dowager Cixi.³⁶⁰ It is clear for the Chinese Christians that Western countries were better than China in both science and technology and governmental system, and the key to the advance of the West was Christianity.³⁶¹ Prior to the Allied expedition in 1900, the Boxer uprising severely injured Chinese Christians and missionaries.

³⁵⁹ Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙), "Geming Yuanqi" 革命原起 [The Origin of Revolution], in Zhongguo Shixuehui 中國史學會 ed., *Xinhai Geming* 辛亥革命 [The 1911 Revolution] vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai ren min chu ban she, 1961), 13.

³⁶⁰ Jonathan Spence, *the Search of Modern China*, 228-229; Immanuel Hsü, *the Rise of Modern China*, 382-384.

³⁶¹ See for example, Zuo Doushan (左斗山), "Renshi Yougeng Tiandao Buyi lun" 人事有更天道不移論 [On the Principle of Heaven will not change though matters of human being will change], *WGGB* no. 113 (6/1898): 17752.

Churches were destroyed and Christians were killed. Some Chinese Christians believed that revolution in the minds of Chinese common people was of equal importance. The capture of the capital and the Empress Dowager's flight to Xi'an with the emperor Guangxu signified that Qing China could not even resist any foreign aggression.

The Chinese Christians articulated the oppression they received through the corruption of the government. The urge to stop the oppression of Christianity can be clearly seen in different kinds of reform programs.³⁶² It is worth noticing that the injustice of the late Qing Chinese system was demonstrated to the Chinese Christians.

4.3 Jesus and his Kingdom in Context

Jesus Christ and his teaching were introduced to China in this context. On the one hand, Christianity was accused of heterodoxy which harmed social stability; on the other hand, it was seen as a solution to the crisis of the age. The Chinese Protestant Christians interpreted the teaching of Jesus and his Kingdom under this context, and two major themes were observed: The virtue of Christianity and Christianity as a teaching for afterlife. Both themes maintained that Christian doctrine did not encourage rebellion and never

³⁶² G. H. Choa, *The life and times of Sir Kai Ho Kai: a prominent figure in nineteenth-century Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981), 213.

threatened the socio-political order of China. However, it should be noted that the emphasis on the virtue of Christianity became the seedbed of the reformists and revolutionaries.

4.3.1 The Background of the Reception of the Kingdom of Heaven

The Chinese understanding of Kingdom of Heaven before the 1860s was of a world after death. Liang Tinnan (梁廷柟, 1796-1861), a traditional Chinese scholar who had read the Bible and books written by missionaries, wrote an article entitled ‘Yesu Jiao Nan Ru Zhongguo Shuo’ (耶穌教難入中國說 The Difficulties on Jesus’ Teaching entering China) in 1851. He commented on the Christian concept of Heaven and Hell that, “It is similar to the doctrines of *Samsāra* in Buddhism 似與佛氏六道輪迴之旨不謀而合”.³⁶³ The bitterness of the Hell is “similar to biting by insect eternally and suffer from eternal fire 如蟲咬不死火燒不滅”, and the happiness in heaven is “becoming the official in heaven, needs no eating, drinking and marriage, do not have calamity and disaster 身爲天官不須飲食婚配自然無災無害”.³⁶⁴ The non-Christians understanding of the concept of heaven is mainly as a world after death. There are two reasons for such an understanding. The first

³⁶³ Liang Tingnan (梁廷柟), *Hai Guo Sishuo* 海國四說 [Four Essays on Overseas Countries] (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1993), 5.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 36.

reason is that in early translations of the Bible and in the missionaries' preaching, the concept of *Tiantang* (天堂) from Buddhism is employed in explaining *Tianguo* (天國) in Christianity. Another reason is the concept of *Tian* (天) in China usually indicated a transcendental world.

Chinese Protestant Christians had a different understanding. Liang Fa suggested two interpretations of the concept 'Kingdom of Heaven' in his tracts *Good Words Exhorting the Age*. By "The blessing of happiness forever in heaven is the real blessing enjoyed by soul"³⁶⁵ he hinted that the Kingdom of Heaven is only for the soul. But by "Where those who believed and worshipped Jesus the Messiah on earth, gathered to worship the God" he hinted that the Kingdom of Heaven is the church on earth. He further pointed out that the Kingdom of Heaven is the same with the Kingdom of God.³⁶⁶

The book *Lecture on the Gospel of Mark* (馬可講義 *Make Jiangyi*) by Missionary Ernst Faber (1839-1899) should be briefly mentioned. Two Chinese Protestant pastor, Wang Xin (黃鑫) and Pan Xunru (潘恂如) wrote

³⁶⁵ The phrase "Tiantang (天堂)" is used by Liang Fa in his work, Tang Suuyu (鄧嗣禹) believes that it is under the influence of Buddhism. Tang Suuyu, "Quan Shi Liang Yan yu Taiping Tianguo zhi Guanshi" 勸世良言與太平天國革命之關係 [The relationship between Quan shi liang yan and Taiping Tianguo revolution], in Liang Fa (梁發), *Quan Shi Liang Yan* 勸世良言 [Good Words for Exhorting Age] (Taipei: Taiwan xue sheng shu ju, 1965), 12-13.

³⁶⁶ Liang Fa, *Quan Shi Liang Yan*, 87.

recommendation on this book,³⁶⁷ proving that this book reached a wide audience and its view affected Chinese Protestant Christians. The book's elaboration of the Kingdom of Heaven in the Gospel of Mark is quite confusing. On the one hand, he suggested that the Kingdom "is in heaven 其位在天", "it only appeared in heaven 其在天而顯現", "its people are of heaven although they were in the world 其民之行雖在世而屬於天", and "on the Day of Judgment it appears as the new heaven and earth 迨顯日全顯於新天地". He emphasized that "those kingdoms on earth cannot be called the Kingdom of heaven because they were established by men, not God 地下之國不得謂之天國以非上帝所立乃人所立也". He further maintained that the Kingdom of Heaven and the Kingdoms of earth were in conflict (對峙).³⁶⁸ On the other hand, he suggested that the Kingdom of Heaven is the community of those who follow the teachings of Jesus. "When man worshipped God and believed in Jesus, he is already in the Kingdom of Heaven".³⁶⁹ The Kingdom of Heaven also means that the disciples "preach

³⁶⁷ Pan Xunru (潘恂如), "Jin Ba Hua Zhian Xiansheng Make Jiangyi" 謹跋花之安先生馬可講義 [A Postscript for *Lecture on the Gospel of Mark* by Mr. Ernst Faber], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 376 (26/2/1876) : 2098 ; Wang Xin (黃鑫), "Xu Guangdong Hua Zhian Xiansheng Make Jiangyi Yishu" 序廣東花之安先生馬可講義一書 [Preface for *Lecture on the Gospel of Mark* by Mr. Ernst Faber from Guangdong], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 376 (26/2/1876) : 2098-9.

³⁶⁸ Ernst Faber, *Make Jiangyi* 馬可講義 [Lectures on Mark] (Unknown: Unknown, 1875), ch. 3, 1B-2.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, ch. 20, 1.

the grace and *Dao* of God, gather the people of God from ten thousand countries, and rule them with gospels, such a kingdom is the kingdom of God. It is in this world but also outside this world, it did not belong to this world 其徒日傳恩國之道集其民於萬國之中治之以福音之理其國爲神國在世之內而出乎世之外非屬此世”.³⁷⁰ It is not clear whether there are one or two Kingdoms of Heaven, but it is clear that Faber tried to convince his reader that Kingdom of Heaven is not limited to the world after death, and it is not a regime established by force, but a group of people sharing the same doctrines.

The descriptions of the Kingdom of Heaven in the four gospels are not coherent. However, missionaries still read the four gospels as a whole. Therefore Faber quoted from John 18: 36 in interpreting the Gospel of Mark.³⁷¹ In the context of the Gospel of John, consideration of 17: 11 “And I am no more in the world, and these are in the world, and I come to thee” and 17: 16 “They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world” in interpreting John 18: 36 is also needed. In these verses, the differences between the two phrases “in this world” and “of this world” are emphasized: Jesus is neither in the world nor of the world; the disciples are in the world but

³⁷⁰ Ibid, ch. 19, 2-2B.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

not of the world. Therefore in 18: 36, the Kingdom of Heaven is not “of the world” may imply that it is “in the world”.³⁷²

4.3.2 The Kingdom of Heaven as the Kingdom for the Dead

Articles by Qingchuan Yilao, Yu Futian and Shen Yunbo suggested the view that the Kingdom of Heaven is only for the dead. The second article by Liu Changxing also agreed with this view. They also quoted extensively from the book of Revelation. It is important to note that their interpretations were also influenced by some Chinese traditional concepts.

Qingchuan Yilao from Hankou is the first to write on the verse ‘Jesus answered, my kingdom is not of this world’ (John 18: 36) and publish in the *WGGB*. Qing clarified his motivation for writing this article: he wanted to “understand the mind of the savior 契救主之心”. It is Jesus’ defense to Pilate’s question: “Art thou the King of the Jews” (John 18: 33). At that time, Jesus was under the charge of rebellion against the Roman Empire. Qing added that “if Pilate listened to Jesus’ speech and became completely convinced, commanded to the Jews as the governor of Judea, that this person is not guilty and should be release 設使彼拉多當日一聆救主之言心悅誠服以堂堂總督命猶太人曰此人無罪可釋放”.³⁷³ Qing’s interpretation of the

³⁷² Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John* (Chapman: London, 1971), 852.

³⁷³ Qingchuan Yilao (晴川逸老), “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi” 耶穌曰我國不屬

verse was responding to the opinion that Christianity threatened the current regime. He interpreted the Kingdom of Heaven as the life after death, it did not ask for power in this world.

Qingchuan Yilao wrote in his article that the Kingdom of Heaven, “using jade to build walls, using gold to build city, using gemstone to build the foundation, using pearls to build the twelve doors, using gold to build roads, these are only to demonstrate the glory of our kingdom. In addition, there are angels and saints. All the glories and blessings that have not been seen or heard are in the kingdom.以碧玉築牆以精金作邑以寶石粧成基趾以珠子作十二門以煉金作街路此不過顯我國之輝光耳且有天使焉有聖徒焉有一切未聞未睹之榮福於其中”³⁷⁴ This description echoes the description of the new heaven and new earth and the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation. New Jerusalem would only appear after the Day of Judgment. Qing further suggested that this world is a world where sins are “all around the world, although saving wretch and helping the weak, there are righteous people in each generation keep teaching, at the end not [everyone] is equally treated 滔滔皆是雖救敝扶衰代有正士教導終不能一視同仁” and therefore “God sent

此世 [Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world], *HGGB* vol. 8 no. 364 (27/11/1875): 1763.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

flood, war, bandits and plague to this world 上帝降洪水於此世降兵火於此世盜賊於此世瘟疫於此世”.³⁷⁵ This world is destined to be destroyed. He believed that God sent Jesus Christ to save the world not by starting rebellion and building a new regime on earth, but to give the chance for human beings to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore in his opinion, Pilate would not have thought that Jesus was a rebel if he was completely convinced by Jesus. And it is clear that the followers of Jesus in China were not rebels, either. By interpreting the Kingdom of Heaven as the new heaven and new earth after the Day of Judgment, Qing suggested that the Kingdom of Heaven had no relevance to the politics of this world.

Yu Futian’s article agreed with Qing. He believed that the Kingdom of Heaven does not have any relationship with this world. It is the world after death. He described it as “In companion with many angels, eating the fruit of paradise, dressing with clean and white clothes and crowns of light and glory, [drinking] water of life in order not to be thirsty 天使之多以爲僚樂園之菓以充食潔白之衣以蔽體光耀之冕以作冠生命之水以止渴,” and they would “enjoy the happiness of resting forever, there are always songs praising god. blessings are to the believers and glory is to God 可享永遠安息之樂時有同

³⁷⁵ Ibid, 1764.

聲讚美之歌福歸信者榮歸上帝”。He further suggested that Jesus “does not want to become king of the body of man, but want to become the king of the soul of man 非欲王於人之肉身實欲王於人之靈魂”; “does not want to become king in a generation, but in thousands of thousands generations 非欲王於一世實欲王於萬萬無窮世”. He explicitly commented that “living in Heaven forever, what is relevant to this world 永永遠遠居於天堂於世何與哉?”³⁷⁶ For Yu, the Kingdom of Heaven was only a vision of life after death. Both Qing and Yu understood the Kingdom of Heaven through Revelation, but Qing further incorporated the context of Jesus’ response in interpreting the verse.

Shen Yunbo joined the debate after reading the articles by Qing, Yang, Yu and Liu. His interpretation responded to the earlier works. It is worth noting that Shen’s article was published just after Liu’s first article, and they demonstrated different opinions. Their articles were written after the tail-cutting mania in the summer of 1876 in Wuchang, so they were probably influenced by the accusations.

In his article, Shen first affirmed that the phrase ‘My Kingdom’ indicated the Kingdom of Heaven, in which the Lord was the king. He suggested seven

³⁷⁶ Yu Futien (俞福田), “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi” 耶穌曰我國不屬此世 [Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world], *WGGGB* vol. 8 no. 379 (18/3/1876): 2181.

differences between the Kingdom of Heaven and the kingdoms of earth. He pointed out that the king of Heaven is “The King of Kings that never changes 萬王之王永無更易” but the kings on earth “change from strong to weak and from beginning to end 有強弱有始終”. The power of the Kingdom of Heaven embodies justice, while the kingdoms of earth do not totally embody justice and they can only judge the bodies of human beings. It seems that he also criticized the injustice of the Qing court. He also claimed that the enemies of the Kingdom of Heaven are “the evil ideas, profane ideas and desire 邪俗慾念” and the ministers of the Kingdom of Heaven are the chosen people of the church. For the kingdoms on earth, the enemies are rebels and the ministers are those who possess intelligence and tactics and therefore not all had morality 其敵乃叛賊其臣僕憑文武智術難皆道德.³⁷⁷ He emphasized more on the essential differences between the two kingdoms and that the Kingdom of Heaven would not establish itself by force.

Shen further elaborated on the five meanings of the Chinese character “*zhu*” (屬). This Chinese character means ‘belong’, and corresponded to the word “of” in the verse. He suggested that the character “First means ‘in’, for although the Lord descended unto earth, he still is in heaven 一解在也主雖降

³⁷⁷ Shen Yunbo (沈雲伯), “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi” 耶穌曰我國不屬此世 [Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world], *WGGB* vol. 9 no. 413 (11/11/1876): 3087.

世依然在天”，“Secondly it means ‘following’, for following *Dao* would bring lives 二解從也從道則生”，“Thirdly it means ‘categorize’, the believers and non-believers did not belong to the same categories 三解類也信與不信何類之有”，“Fourth it means ‘relationship’, only those who followed Father’s decree can be called brother and sister 四解親也惟遵父旨者乃兄弟姊妹”，“Fifthly it indicated ‘colleagues’, angels and saints are colleagues and did not belong to each others 五解僚也天使聖徒同僚不屬”.³⁷⁸ These explanations do not fit the context of the verse. Shen just used these explanations to describe the features of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is important to note that through the sentence “although the lord descended unto earth, he still in heaven”, Shen indicated that the Heaven and earth are two different places. He believed that the earth can never become heaven. This interpretation echoed Qing and Yu’s interpretations. Shen’s interpretation did not fit the text, but we can see that the interpretation mainly suggests that the Kingdom of Heaven is only a world after death and therefore Christianity did not encourage rebellion.

Traditional Chinese concepts also influenced these interpretations.

Qing’s wrote “Kingdom of Heaven is clear and not muddy; kingdoms on earth

³⁷⁸ Shen Yunbo, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi”, 3087.

are muddy and not clear 在天之國清而不濁在地之國濁而不清”³⁷⁹ as supporting his claim that the kingdom of heaven is not of this world, and this sentence is of course not from the Bible. It is from *You Xue Qionglin* (幼學瓊林), a book for enlightening children in the late Qing.³⁸⁰ Yu even used *Tiantang* (天堂) instead of *Tianguo* in his article.³⁸¹

The second article by Liu Changxing was written around a year after the first one. In this article, Liu believed that the Kingdom of Heaven is the same as the new heaven and earth depicted in Revelation. He suggested that the Kingdom of Heaven would only appear after “the end of the evil, God unified the whole world, and the sin of men was repented 魔運畢帝統一人罪贖”. It is a vast place, “bright as the sun, hills folded in West and East until the end of the land. The water of life flow out from the wall of sky. Using jade as buildings and pavilions, the base of the building was of gold, the door was decorated with pearls 光如皎日郇由西構而東折直盡遐荒活水溶溶流出天牆碧玉爲樓青玉爲閣垣基金銘門楣珠絡”. Both “labors from low class and the poor 賤役貧民” or “princes and noblemen 王子皇孫” could enter the kingdom only if they “Change from evil to good, aiming at returning to the

³⁷⁹ Qíngchuan Yilao, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi”, 1763.

³⁸⁰ See *You Xue Qiong Lin* (幼學瓊林) 1, 1.

³⁸¹ Yu Futian, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi”, 2181.

real [God]改惡向善一意歸真”。His words “Out of death and into life 出死入生” probably indicates rebirth. Although he still emphasized the morality and laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, it is clear that he abandoned the belief that the Kingdom of Heaven could be achieved in this world. He suggested that “those who fell was belonged to the world but not our kingdom; those who got eternal life belonged to our kingdom but not the world 沉淪者屬世也非我國也得永生者我國也非屬世也”. The reason for missionaries to preach all over the world is only to help people in this world get eternal life.³⁸²

Obviously, his article suggested that the Kingdom of Heaven did not play the role of guiding this world. Even phrases like “respecting the emperor 恭敬君王”³⁸³ that appeared in his previous article no longer appeared in this article.

This article of Liu adopted a view that the Kingdom of Heaven would come only after the end of the world, and it is different from his previous article. The reason for the change of his view may certainly be the social hostility at that time. Shen and Liu’s articles were written after the tail-cutting mania in the summer of 1876, and the same rumor appeared again in the summer of 1877.³⁸⁴ After the rumor, missionaries were beaten by Chinese in

³⁸² Liu Changxing, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi” 耶穌曰我國不屬此世 [Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 472 (12/1/1878): 4546.

³⁸³ Liu Changxing, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi” 耶穌曰我國不屬此世 [Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world], *WGGB* vol. 9 no. 412 (4/11/1876): 3060.

Wuchang.³⁸⁵ Perhaps the social hostility was so strong that Liu dared not suggest that Christianity could occupy any role in maintaining social order.

4.3.3 The Kingdom of Heaven Promotes Social Order

The articles of Yang and Liu represented another view. Although they both agreed that the Kingdom of Heaven is the world of the dead, they also believed that the Kingdom of Heaven could be achieved on earth. Yang's interpretation depicts this world as the battlefield of God and Devil, and the Kingdom of Heaven promotes social order in this world, and Liu's vision of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth was highly influenced by the Chinese traditional social order. Both of them believed that Christianity promotes morality which could make China a better country.

Yang believed that there are only two kingdoms in the universe: the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the Devil. The Kingdom of God included both the paradise in Heaven and the Church on earth (一天上天堂一天下聖會), and Kingdom of the Devil included both hell and heresies on earth (一陰間地獄一陽間異端). Yang admitted that Christians would go to the paradise after Death. He said that it "gives out light and makes us pure and

³⁸⁴ "Jianbian Yaoyan You Qi" 剪辮謠言又起 [The rumor of tail-cutting spread again], *WGGB* vol. 9 no. 448 (21/7/1877): 3876.

³⁸⁵ "Wuchang Jiaoshi Shoushang" 武昌教士受傷 [Missionaries in Wuchang are injured], *WGGB* vol.9 no. 449 (28/7/1877): 3889.

white on body and soul, our faces are like lightning and our clothes like snow.

The whole kingdom has no mistreated people and violent 普施燭照俾我儕身

心潔白容如電衣如雪境內不聞屈抑之聲不見殘賊之事”, and “when we

step into this environment all our trouble will be relieved 我儕一入此境煩憂

頓釋焉”.³⁸⁶ However, he also suggested that the Kingdom of Heaven could

be built on earth. He described the Kingdom of Heaven on earth as full of

“filial piety 父慈子孝”, “chastity 男貞女潔”, “worshipping god and

abandoning evil 去假歸真敬上帝而棄邪魔”, “if everyone follows this then

the earth would become similar to Heaven 人人如此在地若天”.³⁸⁷ The first

two descriptions refuted the charges placed by the Chinese gentry. Moreover,

he emphasized that people could be permitted to enter the kingdom of heaven

only if they believed in God, “suppress their desire 遏其私欲” and “follow the

practice of the Kingdom of Heaven 行上帝國之事”, including “Keep

law-abiding life 安分守己” and “pure heart and peace, to be exiled for the

sake of justice, to be scorned and humiliated because of Lord 清心和平爲義

被窘逐爲主受詬誶”. The Kingdom of Heaven in Christianity provides a

vision of moral life and social order to Yang

³⁸⁶ Yang Jiantang (楊鑑堂) “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi” 耶穌曰我國不屬此世 [Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 374 (12/2/1876): 2071.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 2072.

Yang's depiction of the world contradicts with his explanation of the verse "My kingdom is not of this world": If this world was divided into the Kingdom of Heaven and Kingdom of the Devil, how could Jesus say "My Kingdom is not of this world"? Regarding this problem, Yang suggested that "This world belongs to our kingdom, but our kingdom never belongs to this world 此世屬於我國我國斷不屬於此世", and he even suggested that "The phrase 'This World' can be understood as Kingdom of Devil 此世二字作魔鬼國解可也".³⁸⁸ Yang's explanation is not coherent. However, it is obvious that Yang believed the Kingdom of Heaven could help promote morality and cement society.

Liu Changxing wrote at the beginning and end of his article:

Without form but it can create forms; forms without image but it can create images, images do not have beginning but it is the beginning of everything, do not have end but it is the end of everything. *Tiandao* is like this, so as our kingdom [of heaven] 無形而能形形無象而能象象無始能始萬物之始無終能終萬物之終天道如是我國亦然

By linking the Chinese concept *Tiandao* (天道, or "the way of Heaven") with the Christian concept "The Kingdom of Heaven", he paved the way for explaining the Kingdom of Heaven through the vision of the ideal society in

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

Chinese tradition.³⁸⁹ In Confucianism, *Tiandao* is the order that is both transcendent and imminent, because the legitimacy of *Tiandao* is derived from the transcendental sphere. To follow *Tiandao* is to follow moral life and social norms. When everyone follows social norms, the social order will be strengthened.³⁹⁰ Liu emphasized the social life of the Kingdom of Heaven. “Our kingdom would treat the starving man in this world as our own starvation; our kingdom would treat the cold man in this world as our own cold; we’ll be equal to the widowers and widows, lonely old man and disabled in our kingdom 此世飢也我國視之猶己飢此世寒我國視之猶己寒此世之鰥寡孤獨殘廢跛聾顛簸失所也我國視之一如”.³⁹¹ The Kingdom of Heaven maintains social justice and promotes equality.

In explaining the verse “My Kingdom is not of this world”, Liu suggested that the Kingdom of Heaven “disagree with this world 與此世多齟齬” because the phrase “not of this world” implies that the Kingdom of Heaven would act as a measurement (繩) of this world. For him, the Kingdom of Heaven helped answer questions of people from this world: “[The people from] this world did not know what life and death for, our kingdom

³⁸⁹ Liu Changxing, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi”, 3060.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Liu Changxing, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi”, 3060.

enlightened them on the reasons of eternal blessing and punishment, our Kingdom does good in order to save this world 此世不知何以生何以死我國爲之牖明夫永福永刑所由致甚矣我國爲善救此世之國也”.³⁹² He explained that the Kingdom of Heaven promotes “respecting the emperor and being filial piety to parents, building good relationship with brothers and wife in order to harmonize the family 恭敬君王而孝父母友睦兄弟而合妻子家室和睦”,³⁹³ thus it disagreed with the “hermits 孤隱”, “[those who] forbid marriage 禁嫁娶” and “does not have human relationship in this world 此世之無人倫者”. It seems that he was accusing Buddhism. He further suggested that “In China and overseas, [our kingdom] is in contact with this world every day 在中華在外洋無日不與此世相往來”,³⁹⁴ in order to change the world. Liu portrayed the Kingdom of Heaven as a set of moral teaching than a kingdom.

For Liu, the vision of the Kingdom of Heaven did not destroy traditional Chinese social order. Instead, it supported the rule of the emperor, promoted traditional values and helped cement society. He further added that Christianity “emphasize soul than body 靈魂爲重肉身爲輕” and “is not

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Liu Changxing, “Yesu yue Wo Guo Bu Su Ci Shi”, 3060.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

seduced by the fame and wealth in this world 非迷於此世爭名利” These sentences confirmed that Christianity did not go against the current political regime, but shared the same ideology with Confucianism . As we have seen above, heterodox sects destroy social order and rebelling against the existing government. Both Yang and Liu suggested that Christianity was not a heterodox sect and affirmed Christianity as a religion which could promote social order.

The articles by Liu Changxing and Yang Jiantang above suggest that the Kingdom of Heaven is a vision of an ideal society that can be achieved on earth, and Christianity thus maintains the stability of society. Prior to them, another Chinese Protestant Christian using the pseudonym *Guwangyan* (姑妄言) interpreted Jesus as a participant in political activities aiming to bring peace to earth, by exploring the meaning of the verse “And Jesus saith unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; But the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.” (Matt. 8: 20; Luke 9: 58).

The context of this verse is clear: A fellow scribe wants to follow Jesus, and Jesus tells the scribe that he does not even have a place to lay his head. The verse is followed by another dialogue that a disciple wants to bury his father and Jesus did not permit it. The first dialogue did not mention whether

the scribe eventually followed Jesus or not, but in the second dialogue it is clear that the disciple did not leave. Both dialogues seemed only to hint at the death of Jesus. Gu tried to give an explanation on why Jesus rejected the scribe. Gu suggested that “The scribe was not unwilling to follow Jesus, but only those who knows nature can be lived with, those who have different aims cannot be even on the same boat. This scribe did not really know Jesus. And without really knowing Jesus, how can one know the nature of other things 彼士子非不欲從耶穌乎夫識性者可與同居二心者難期共濟是殆不識耶穌者乎不識耶穌又安足以識物之性也”³⁹⁵. Gu believed that Jesus experienced a lot of bitterness that the scribe did not understand, and that is why Jesus rejected the scribe.

In the beginning he wrote “without a place to live because of worrying the world, even worse than beasts which can enjoy peaceful life. For a man without a place to lay his head is worse the fox and birds, and he is worrying the world so much 憂世而無地自容不如禽獸之爲安也夫人未有無枕首之所者也不如狐鳥亦其憂世之念切.”³⁹⁶ Gu believed that Jesus made such a

³⁹⁵ Guwangyan (姑妄言), “Huli you Xue Tiankong zhi Niao you Chao wei Renzi wu Zhenshou zhi Suo ye” 狐狸有穴天空之鳥有巢惟人子無枕首之所也 [The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; But the Son of man hath not where to lay his head], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 354 (18/9/1875): 1483-4, 1484

³⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 1483

speech because he saw that “animals and plants in sky or sea all enjoy their peaceful life, it is clear that the son of man did not enjoy living in a busy life 動植飛潛莫不各安其性命知僕僕風塵又豈人子所樂爲也.”³⁹⁷ Gu believed that Jesus worried about the fate of his state. He suggested that the comment “nowhere to lay his head” also hinted the fate of two different kinds of people.

For the emperors that

“did not conscious of the fall of his country, when his armies were defeated, his palaces ruined and their government had lost its head, they did not even have a place to live. After the doom of his country, they cannot find a place to lay their head in the vast universe and his life is worse than a horse 不知國家之將變者也一旦而六軍北狩萬乘蒙塵宮闕爲墟廟堂無主雖欲如駑馬之戀棧奚可得哉，則亦無枕首之所也”.

He believed that luxurious life was the cause of corruption of the ruling class. The other kind of people who have nowhere to lay his head is the *zhishi* (志士, men with ambitious). They could keep their principles even when they were poor. They would keep teaching the next generation and sometimes show their grief in their writings, take opportunities to achieve their vision, and they would not be satisfied with their achievement. And only the people with *ren* (仁) could keep their virtue when they became rich, and still bear in mind the welfare of their countrymen, therefore they did not have a place to

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 1484

rest³⁹⁸. He suggested that Jesus “hath not where to place his head” because he is one of the *zhishi* who tried to change the situation. He believed that Jesus admired the peaceful life of foxes and birds, and expressed his grief over a world full of conflict. His interpretation of the image of Jesus is clearly that of a man of virtue who cares not only individual but also the fate of his country. Although his view on Jesus was a minority in his age, his view pioneered the writings of the later Christian reformist like Wang Yuchu and Ho Kai, and also the Christian revolutionary Sun Yat-sen.

As Ying discovered, Wang Yuchu and others also promoted reform by writing articles to *WGGB*. However, their articles mainly argued that only *Tiandao* (天道) could save China.³⁹⁹ It is pioneered by Liu Changxing’s article. Ho Kai, the son of the LMS pastor Ho Tsun Sheen, also made use of the Bible to show how Christianity became the key of the advancement of Western countries, but previous researchers often ignored the relationship between the Bible and his reform programs.⁴⁰⁰ Only Leung Sau Wah briefly

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 1483-4.

³⁹⁹ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiyong yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 134-5.

⁴⁰⁰ See for example Lee Kam Keung (李金強), “Xianggan Huaren Yu Zhongguo: Ho Kai (1859-1914) and Hu Liyuan (1847-1916) Ge’an zhi Tansuo” 香港華人與中國 – 何啓 (1859-1914) · 胡禮垣 (1847-1916) 個案之探索 [Hong Kong Chinese and China: Ho Kai (1859-1914) and Hu Liyuan (1847-1916) as Case Study], in *Zhongguo Shenxue Yanjiuyuan Jikan* 中國神學研究院期刊 [CGST journal] (Hong Kong : CGST) No. 23 (7-1997): 56; G. H. Choa, *The life and times of Sir Kai Ho Kai: a prominent figure in nineteenth-century Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981), 181-218; Law Wing Sang, *Collaborative Colonial Power: the Making of Hong Kong Chinese* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University

mentions the use of the Christian doctrines in Ho's article.⁴⁰¹ Ho explicitly wrote in his articles that Western countries were better than China because they believed in Christianity. For Ho, the essence was "love thy neighbor as thyself" and equality, and it is the key of Western advancement.⁴⁰²

On the other hand, as shown in the statistic of Harold Schiffrin, a large number of Chinese revolutionaries were Christians.⁴⁰³ Leung Sau Wah investigates the Xingzhonghui and Dai Ming Shuntian Guo (大明順天國) revolution and suggests that they were mainly started by Chinese Protestant Christians.⁴⁰⁴ Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the revolution, is a Chinese Protestant Christian and he interpreted Jesus as a revolutionary although he concerned more on the story of Exodus in the Bible.⁴⁰⁵ He said that "He (Jesus) was a revolutionary, I was. He came to rescue the poor, unfortunate

Press, 2009), 97-100.

⁴⁰¹ Leung Sau Wah, *Geming Xianqu: Jidutu yu Wan Qing Zhongguo Geming de Qiyuan*, 128-129.

⁴⁰² Ho Kai (何啓) and Hu Liyuan (胡禮垣), *Xinzheng Zhenquan* 新政真詮 [The Real Interpretation on the New Politics] (Shenyang: Liaoning ren min chu ban she, 1994), 24; 26; 34; 282.

⁴⁰³ Harold Schiffrin, *Sun Yat Sen and the origins of the Chinese revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 229.

⁴⁰⁴ Leung Sau Wah, *Geming Xianqu: Jidutu yu Wan Qing Zhongguo Geming de Qiyuan*, 13.

⁴⁰⁵ Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙), "Guofu Mianli Zhongguo Jidutu Qingnian Shu" 國父勉勵中國基督徒青年書 [The encouragement to Chinese Christian Youth], in Xi Xiande (習賢德), *Sun Zhongshan Xiansheng yu Jidujiao* 孫中山先生與基督教 [Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Christianity] (Taipei: Jin xuan chu ban she, 1991), 125.

people who were enslaved. My effort shared the same aim”. He even believed that “As God had sent Jesus to this world; God has sent me to the earth”.⁴⁰⁶ For Sun, Jesus sacrificed himself for the salvation of individuals, and revolutionaries sacrificed themselves for the salvation of the country. These two sacrifices were similar.⁴⁰⁷ It is clear that the Bible actually stimulated both reform and revolutionary movement in late Qing China.

Conclusion

Through probing into the context of Chinese Protestant Christians, the two very different interpretations of the concept of the “Kingdom of Heaven” in the Bible can be understood as the refutation against the accusation that Christianity was a heterodox sect which practiced sorcery in order to destroy the social and political order of the existing regime. The Chinese Protestant Christians suggested that, on the one hand, the Kingdom of Heaven was only for the dead, and on the other hand, the vision of an ideal society in the Bible echoed traditional Chinese values. Leung Ka Lun believed that the idea that the Kingdom of Heaven would only appear after the end of the world was brought by the missionaries in the early 20th Century and become prominent

⁴⁰⁶ Quoted from Xi Xiande, *Sun Zhongshan Xiansheng yu Jidujiao*, 66.

⁴⁰⁷ Leung Sau Wah, *Geming Xianqu: Jidutu yu Wan Qing Zhongguo Geming de Qiyuan*, 133.

among theologians in the Republican era⁴⁰⁸, but long before this the interpretation of Kingdom of Heaven as the world after death had already appeared. However, despite their effort in defending Christianity from the accusations, the number of missionary cases did not drop in the 1870s, suggesting the hostility against Chinese Christians was still rising. The number of missionary cases reached 20 in 1873, 1876 and 1879.⁴⁰⁹ On the other hand, Chinese Protestant Christians articulated the vision of an ideal society in the Christian Bible with the advancement of Western countries in the context of the decline of the government and the social crisis. Christian writers gained their vision of a better society through reading the Bible. Despite the fact that in the 1870s Liu wrote that Christianity advocated “respecting the emperor”, and in the 1910s Sun abolished the emperor, they were actually sharing the same strategy of reading the Kingdom of Heaven as an ideal social order which can bring a better world to China.

⁴⁰⁸ Leung Ka Lun (梁家麟), *Chaoqian yu Duohou : Bentu Shijing yu Shenxue Yanjiu* 超前與墮後：本土釋經與神學研究 [Far ahead and lagging behind: Studies in contextual hermeneutics and theology] (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2003), 71-76.

⁴⁰⁹ Chen Yinkun, *Qing ji Minjiao Chongtu de Lianghua Fenxi: 1860-1899*, 15.

Chapter 5

The Bible, Chinese Traditions and Confucianism

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the confrontation between Christianity and Chinese tradition known as *Mingjiao Gangchang* (名教綱常) is an important accusation to the Chinese Protestant Christians. The Chinese Protestant Christians in the late Qing period abandoned many traditional Chinese customs. They did not participate in ancestral worship, and did not keep separation between men and women as the traditional customs demanded. In defending Christianity from these accusations, both Chinese Protestant Christians and missionaries emphasized the similarities between Christianity and Chinese culture, especially “Confucianism”. The discussion on the compatibility of Confucianism and Christianity became the major concern of Republican theologian, and they influenced the researchers of Christianity in late Qing China.

It cannot be denied that Chinese traditional culture played an important role in the writings of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. However, researchers often equate Chinese traditional culture with Confucianism as the Confucian Classics depicted. Pfister suggests a framework of “Christian culture as the essence, Ruist culture as the means” to explain how Ruist

culture and Christian doctrines shaped the thought of Ho Tsun Sheen⁴¹⁰, one of the earliest Chinese pastors. Eber believes that it was important for Chinese Protestant Christians to know and to prove that Christianity is in no way contradicting the cultural assumptions they received from tradition,⁴¹¹ and Ying suggests that the Chinese Protestant Christians tried to accommodate the Bible with the Chinese Classics and refuted the theories of the contemporary Confucianism (今儒).⁴¹² The differences in the content of Chinese traditions and Confucianism between the literati of the 16th Century and the commoners of the 19th Century are usually overlooked, and the concept of “Confucianism” is rather vague. It is important to probe into the content of the traditional values of the Chinese Protestant Christians while asking how they reconciled the two cultures.

This chapter tries to demonstrate that instead of Confucian philosophy and its textual tradition, it is the beliefs of popular religions that played a leading role in the cultural background of Chinese Protestant Christians. In

⁴¹⁰ Lauren Pfister, “A Transmitter but Not a Creator Ho Tsun-sheen (1817-1871): The First Modern Chinese Protestant Theologian”, in Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, Knut Walf ed. *Bible in modern China: the literary and intellectual impact* (Sankt Agustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999), 165-166.

⁴¹¹ Irene Eber, “Notes on the Early Reception of the Old Testament”, in *Chinese and Jews: Encounter Between Cultures* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008), 112.

⁴¹² Ying Fuk Tsang (邢福增), *Wenhua Shiying yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911 文化適應與中國基督徒 1860-1911* [*Cultural Accommodation and Chinese Christians (1860-1911)*] (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1995), 120-121.

addition, they embraced a Confucian Classic that is quite different from the mainstream scholar, and their rejection towards their contemporary Confucian scholars is clear.

5.1 Confucianism and Chinese Traditional Values

5.1.1 The Development of Academic Confucianism until late Qing

The term “Confucianism” creates much confusion. Literally, it means the teachings of Confucius (孔子, 551-479 B.C.E). However, because of the problems regarding the validity and the interpretation of the canon, the content of Confucianism varies from time to time and from school to school. In addition, “Confucianism” among the common people was different from the academic trends. This complicated situation of late Qing scholarship is seldom mentioned in the history of Christianity in the late Qing period.

On the one hand, the reliability of the Confucian Classics is in doubt. Before the invention of printing, copies of the classics were produced by hand, these copies are very unreliable. Not to mention that the texts of Confucian Classics were lost twice. The first emperor of the Qin dynasty (221-207 B.C.E.) burnt all copies of the Classics, and this led to the controversy over different versions of Confucian texts in Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.-220 C. E.). The canonical texts were lost again in the 4th Century, when the northern

tribes destroyed the Jin dynasty. Forgeries of the canon appear in this period. Confucian texts were canonized in the mid 7th Century and became the syllabus of Civil Service Examination; this version is known as *The True Meaning of the Five Classics* (*Wujing Zhengyi*, 五經正義), and the invention of printing protected the copying process from writing mistakes. In addition, the Four Books, including *Analects* (論語), *Mencius* (孟子), *the Great Learning* (大學), and *the Doctrine of Mean* (中庸), were canonized after the Song dynasty (960-1279 C.E.). Zhu Xi's annotation of the Four Books became the syllabus of the Civil Service Examination after the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). The validity of the Canon was re-examined starting from the late Ming dynasty. The school which dominated the academia of the mid-Qing dynasty was the *Han Xue* (漢學, literally 'the learning of Han'). It examined and interpreted the Confucian Canon using methods similar to the historical-critical school.⁴¹³ They adopted the Thirteen Classics (十三經) as their canon: *The Book of Songs* (詩經), *The Book of Documents* (尚書), *The Book of Changes* (易經) and *The Records of Rite* (禮記) from the Five Classics; *Analects* and *Mencius* from the Four Books were chosen; instead of *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋), the three commentaries including *Zuo*

⁴¹³ See also Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspect of Change in late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984).

Zhuan (左傳), *Gongyang Zhuan* (公羊傳) and *Guliang Zhuan* (穀梁傳) were chosen as three classics. In addition, *Ceremonies and Rites* (儀禮), *Rites of Zhou* (周禮), *Luxuriant and Redefined Words* (爾雅) and *The Classic on Filial Piety* (孝經), were included. However, the examination syllabus, which dominated the mind of candidates, was mainly on the Four Books.

On the other hand, different interpretations of the Confucian Canon created different schools of Confucianism. *Han Xue* is, of course, one of the examples. By proving certain texts were forgeries, *Han Xue* falsified the textual evidence of the other schools.⁴¹⁴ Other examples include the *Li Xue* (理學) of Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) and *Xin Xue* (心學) of Wang Yangming (王陽明, 1472-1528). They adopt different attitudes towards the Confucian Classics. The quest of Zhu Xi is, indeed, *Dao* (道, in Zhu's thought is the eternal principle). He believed that the *Dao* was hidden in the classics, thus it can be learnt through a doctrinal reading of the Confucian Classics. On the contrary, Wang suggested that *Dao* is the human conscience, so reading the classics was not important. *Xin Xue* was especially influential in the late Ming dynasty, and the Catholic missionaries attacked it because of its similarity with Buddhism. Scholars in the early Qing period attributed the fall of the

⁴¹⁴ Yu Yingshi (余英時), *Lun Dai Zhen yu Zhang Xuecheng* 論戴震與章學誠 [On Dai Zhen and Zhang Xuecheng] (Taipei shi : Dong da tu shu gong si, 1996), 20.

Ming court to *Xin Xue*. *Han Xue* advocated a textual study of the Confucian Classics in order to find out the original meaning the sage intended, and to seek *Dao* from the Classics. Scholars agree that Catholic missionaries played an important role in the rise of *Han Xue*. In the late Qing period, Zeng Guofan (曾國藩, 1811-1872), a famous scholar-official, wrote:

Nowadays, apart from the examiners of Civil Service examination, there were no teachers. There were sometimes one or two gifted scholars. They investigate into the Classics and become famous in the capital. [They] scorned and humiliated the experienced scholars who advocated the study of doctrines 今之世自鄉試禮部試舉主而外無復所謂師者間有一二高才之士鉤稽故訓動稱漢京聞老成倡爲義理之學者則罵譏唾侮。⁴¹⁵

His words show the late Qing academic trends to us. The annotation of Zhu Xi continues to be the syllabus of the Civil Service Examination and it is the only authority to the Classics at that time. All literati were familiar with his annotations, and the Five Classics were not as important as the Four Books, since candidates were required to memorize the whole Four Books but were not required to be familiar with all Five Classics.⁴¹⁶ However, it was not seen as academic scholarship among the scholar-officials. Scholars advocating the

⁴¹⁵ Zeng Guofan (曾國藩), "Song Tang Xiansheng Nanguai Xu", quoted from Yu Ying-shi (余英時), "Zeng Guofan yu Shidafu zhi xue" 曾國藩與「士大夫之學」 [Zeng Guofan and the learning of literati and officialdom], in *Lishi Renwu yu Wenhua Weiji* 歷史人物與文化危機 [Historical Character and Cultural Crisis] (Taipei: Dong da tu shu gu fen you xian gong si, 1995), 12.

⁴¹⁶ Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 410.

study of doctrinal interpretation of the Confucian Classics were “scorned and humiliated” since the Qianlong period (1735-1799).⁴¹⁷ Zhu’s annotation was only a stepping stone for the literati to enter the Qing government system. Hence, there were differences between the Confucianism among scholars and the Confucianism taught in most of China that aimed only at achieving good results in Civil Service Examination.

5.1.2 The Three Sects and the Tradition of Moral books.

Besides Confucian Classics, tracts from popular religion formed the cultural background of the popular mass. It is observed that starting from the late Ming period, the three teachings including Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, absorb ideas from each other, and popular religion is the syncretism of these three teachings.⁴¹⁸ They produced tracts to demonstrate their beliefs and promote morality. The *Bao Juan* (寶卷, literally “Precious Volumes”) studied by Overmyer is one of the examples. As Overmyer stated, these books often based on moralistic stories, and thus is “vehicles of a

⁴¹⁷ See for example Zhang Lizhu (張麗珠), “Ji Yun Fan Songxue di Sixiang Yiyi: yi Siku Ti Yao yu Yuewei Caotang Biji wei Guancha Xiansuo” 紀昀反宋學的思想意義—以《四庫提要》與《閱微草堂筆記》為觀察線索 [The Significance of the Anti Songxue thought of Ji Yun: Observing from *The Abstract of Siku Quanshu* and *Yuewei Caotang Biji*], in *Hanxue Yanjiu* [漢學研究] vol. 20 no. 1 (2002.6): 253-276.

⁴¹⁸ Yau Chi On (游子安), *Quanhua Jin Zhen: Qingdai Shanshu Yanjiu* 勸化金箴：清代善書研究 [Admonishing the Age for the Maxim: A Study of Morality Books in Qing China] (Tianjin: Tianjin ren min chu ban she, 1999) 48. See also Yu Yingshi, *Zhongguo Jinshi Zongjiao Lunli yu Shangren Jingshen* 中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神 [The Religious Ethics in Late Imperial China and the Spirit of Merchants] (Taipei: Lian Jing Chu Ban, 2004), 81.

generalized morality and piety, and they circulated on their own, without the support or constraint of a sectarian context”.⁴¹⁹ Yau Chi On further suggests that the tracts are to indoctrinate a set of moral value to the mass.⁴²⁰ The ethical teachings of these tracts were actually combination of popular understanding of Confucian and Buddhist values⁴²¹, they emphasize filial piety⁴²² and Karma⁴²³. In fact, some of the Chinese Protestant Christians had read these tracts before they converted to Christianity. *Zhifei Zi* (知非子) wrote that he had followed the ledger of merits and demerits tradition⁴²⁴, Wang Pinsan had also read those tracts before he converted.⁴²⁵ It is clear that instead of Confucian Classics, these tracts were the cultural background of the Chinese Protestant Christians.

5.2 Chinese Protestant Christians’ Interpretation of the Bible

⁴¹⁹ Daniel Overmyer,, *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Sectarian Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 4.

⁴²⁰ Yau Chi On, *Quanhua Jin Zhen: Qingdai Shanshu Yanjiu*, 17.

⁴²¹ Daniel Overmyer,, *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Sectarian Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 222.

⁴²² *Ibid*, 207.

⁴²³ *Ibid*. 228.

⁴²⁴ Zhifei Zi (知非子), “Zhifei Zi Xushu Xinjiao Chuanjiao Jingyan” 知非子敘述信教傳教經驗 [Zhifei Zi’s Experience on Conversion and Preaching], *JHXP* vol. 1 (1868): 22-23.

⁴²⁵ Wang Pinsan (黃品三), “Xin Zhu Qiyin Ji” 信主起因記 [The Reason of Believing in Lord], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 453 (1/9/1877): 4013-4015.

The previous chapter has showed the political nature of the accusations against Christianity. The accusations also made use of concepts from Chinese morality, and in return the Chinese Protestant Christians responded by trying to link the Christian moral code with the Chinese moral code. This chapter mainly focuses on two issues: the idea of filial piety and the emphasis on morality in Christian teaching.

5.2.1 Accusation of Violation of Filial Piety and Christians' response

The most obvious accusation against the morality of Chinese Christians and Christianity concerns with the problem of filial piety. For the Chinese, filial piety included serving one's parents according to propriety when they were alive, burying them according to propriety after their death and sacrificing to them according to propriety 生養之以禮死葬之以禮祭之以禮 (Analects 2: 5).⁴²⁶ As Chinese Christians did not participate in ancestral worship, an act that was commonly understood as an expression of filial piety, they were accused of being unfilial. The Chinese Protestant Christians did not participate in ancestral worship because the majority of Christian missionaries believed that ancestral worship was a form of idolatry, and did not permit the converts to participate in it. Carl Smith concludes that the controversy

⁴²⁶ The translation is slightly amended.

originated in different understanding of filial piety: “In Confucian piety, this dimension is focused on a concrete historical personage. In Christian piety, it is focused on a God who is both in and outside history.”⁴²⁷

The issue of ancestral worship gave rise to several controversies in China. It was part of the Controversies of Rites (1610-1704); after several debates Pope Clement XI (1649-1721, reign from 1700) declared that Chinese Catholics were not allowed to participate in ancestral worship, and as an act of retaliation Emperor Kangxi (康熙帝, 1654-1722, reigned from 1661) forbade the Catholic missionaries to preach in China.⁴²⁸ The problem of ancestral worship also troubled the Protestant missionaries. Early missionary Walter Henry Medhurst (麥都思, 1796-1857) wrote the book *Hanshi Qingming lun* (寒食清明論) against the practice of ancestral worship.⁴²⁹ Chinese pastor Ho Tsun Sheen reinterpreted the idea of filial piety to harmonize the teachings of Confucianism with Christianity.⁴³⁰ Jieyu Zi (劫餘子) wrote an article to

⁴²⁷ Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 203.

⁴²⁸ George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy: from its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), 67. This book also provides a detail account on the whole controversy, but it mainly deals with the Catholic Church's reaction.

⁴²⁹ Walter Medhurst, Doolittle revised, *Han shi qing ming lun* 寒食清明論 [On the Qingming Festival] (Fuzhou: Ya bi si xi mei zong hui, 1855). Hanshi festival is another name for Qingming festival. Chinese people worship their ancestors at that festival.

⁴³⁰ Lauren Pfister, “A Transmitter but Not a Creator Ho Tsun-sheen (1817-1871): The First Modern Chinese Protestant Theologian”, 191.

JHXP in 1868 and expressed that the prohibition of ancestral worship was the main hindrance to Chinese conversion to Christianity.⁴³¹ His article aroused a great debate involving both Chinese Protestant Christians and missionaries. There are many articles in *JHXP* that explain why ancestral worship should be prohibited, and Wang Yuchu wrote a book *Xiaodao Jiezhong* (孝道折衷) that was also published in *WGGB*. No Chinese Protestant Christians suggested that ancestral worship should be permitted. On the contrary, they reinterpreted the idea of filial piety in response to the accusations.

Wang Tao (王韜) had sent an article to *WGGB* using the name Fuli Yimin (甫里逸民) on the verse “And another of his disciples said unto him, Lord, let me first to go and bury my father. But Jesus said unto him, Follow me; and let the dead bury their dead”⁴³² (Matt. 8: 21-2). He suggested that when missionary James Legge preached in China, some Confucian Chinese argued that Christianity was a religion that did not respect parents: “teach people with unfilial piety 以不孝導人者也”⁴³³. Confucians Chinese based

⁴³¹ *Jieyu Zi* (劫餘子), “Jieyu Zi Tiaoyi” 劫餘子條議 [Opinion from Jieyu Zi], *JHXP* 1 (1868): 70-71.

⁴³² The translation is mainly adopted from KJV with slightly amendment.

⁴³³ Fuli Yimin (甫里逸民), “You Yi Mentu Yue Zhu Rong Wo Gui Zangfu Ye Yesu Yue Congwo Renfu Siren Zang qi Siren” 又一門徒曰主容我歸葬父耶耶穌曰從我任夫死人葬其死人 [another disciple said ‘lord let me go back to bury my father’, Jesus said ‘follow me, let the dead bury the dead’], *WGGB* vol. 9 no. 433 (7/4/1877): 3621.

their argument on this verse, for it was obvious that Jesus forbade his disciple to bury his father. By reinterpreting the verse, Wang suggested that Christianity did not teach people to be unfilial. Before reading Wang's article, a brief introduction of the context of the verse is needed.

In the article by *Guwangyan* (姑妄言), the verse of Matt 8:20 is explained. When a scribe wanted to follow Jesus, Jesus said that he had nowhere to lay his head. In this verse, a follower wanted to first bury his father and Jesus said "let the dead bury their dead". The two dialogues are interpreted as Jesus' prophecy of his own death. These two dialogues are in the middle of a series of miracles. In addition, the meaning of the verse is different in the Delegates' version used by Wang. It is written "another disciple said 'Lord, let me go back to bury my father', Jesus said 'follow me, let the dead bury the dead' 又一門徒曰主容我歸葬父耶耶穌曰從我任夫死人葬其死人". Comparing it with the King James Version, the Delegates' version omitted the word "first". Thus in the Chinese version it seems that the disciple had followed Jesus for a long time and wanted to go back to bury his father. But the verse probably suggested that the disciple wanted first to bury his father and then to follow Jesus.

Wang suggested that the verse does not teach people to be unfilial. The claim “to bury his father” was just an excuse for the disciple to leave Jesus. For at that time many disciples followed Jesus simply because “they had seen the miracles of Jesus, and when these first Christians met hindrance they were scared and left the community. That disciple had repeatedly proposed leaving, but find that it is difficult to talk about that, so [he] used the excuse of burying his father 或見奇事異跡喜而來附或見患難險阻畏而思退此門徒者蓋屢欲求去者也特難於啓齒憚於措詞於是遂設一計欲歸葬父”⁴³⁴ Therefore, it is the disciple who wanted to cheat Jesus, and Jesus understood that the disciple was cheating, and did not permit the disciple to leave.

Through giving the verse a context (which probably is not the real context of the verse), Wang explored two meanings in the verse. First, the verse shows that Jesus knew everything, “men cannot cheat him, [as] the heart and intestine was all seen after anatomy, that [Jesus] had known the intention before men showed it 人無可售其欺心腹腎腸無不剖刺未曾舉意已早知之故”.⁴³⁵ And therefore Jesus aimed at teaching the disciple to focus on learning *Dao*. Facing the disciple who wanted to leave and sought excuses,

⁴³⁴ Ibid, 3621.

⁴³⁵ Ibid, 3622.

Jesus “still graciously hopes [his following] 尚且殷勤致望如此”.⁴³⁶ It showed the great love of Jesus. He further guessed that “at that time perhaps there are uncles and brothers in his family that can help manage funeral affairs, it is not necessary to wait for the return of the disciple before burying 當日其家人中或尚有伯叔兄弟足以襄理葬事者原非必待門徒之歸而後葬也”.⁴³⁷ And therefore, Wang suggested that the son was not necessarily participating in the funeral. Since there are differences between serious matters and minor matters, and when comparing burying a father with learning from Jesus, it is clear that learning from Jesus is much more important. Therefore “of course [one] should abandon burying his father and seek *Dao* by following [Jesus] 固宜捨葬父而從求道也”.⁴³⁸ Furthermore, he suggested that burying the father was only a secular affair, and the disciple who only wanted to bury his father “only wish to drown in the world, follow customs and do everything only for the world 徒知溺世欲從習俗爲世間一切之事”.⁴³⁹ This verse warned the disciple “not to have any private concern, or take into account the matters of the profane world, but depend on God for his whole life and do not change

⁴³⁶ Ibid, 3621.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, 3622.

⁴³⁹ Ibid, 3621

this will 勿有一毫之私偽世俗之事概勿縈其心慮終身倚賴不變所志”.⁴⁴⁰

Finally, Wang pointed out that there were beautiful cemeteries for foreigners in Hong Kong, it proves that Christianity also paid attention to funeral. The Christians “built stone and engrave words in hope of permanent 立石刻字以期永久”, “all the coffins for the death are well prepared 凡送死棺槨之具至爲周密”⁴⁴¹, proving that Christianity does not teach people not to bury their fathers and become unfilial.

Wang argued that Christianity does not lead people to be unfilial by trying to give a historical context to the verse, and suggesting that the words in the Bible should not be understood literally. In this example, Wang suggested that the meaning of the text lies in the function of Jesus’ statement. It demonstrated that Jesus understood the excuse of his disciple and did not want his disciple to leave him, and the verse further implied that following Jesus is more important than secular affairs such as burying one’s father. However, Wang did not solve the dilemma between Chinese customs and Christianity. On the one hand, Chinese Protestant Christians had to refute the accusations of teaching people to be unfilial. On the other hand, they had to follow the missionaries’ instructions and not practice customs that are related

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, 3622.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

to the dead. Facing this dilemma, Chinese Protestant Christians advocated a separation between ancestral worship and filial piety. In order to do so, they had to redefine the concept of filial piety, and to find evidence in the Bible to support their definition. The explanation of the fifth Commandments demonstrates their efforts.

For the Chinese Protestant Christians, the Ten Commandments were the most important moral code of Christianity. Missionaries in China always started their work by demanding the converts to recite the Ten Commandments.⁴⁴² There are six series of poems on the Ten Commandments and an article which aimed at exploring the meaning of the Ten Commandments in *JHXP* and *WGGB*. These articles demonstrated the Chinese Protestant Christians' understanding of the meaning of different commandments. This section only deals with their writings on the fifth commandment.

In defining filial piety, they reinterpreted the idea of filial piety in Chinese traditions in terms of Christian doctrines. The definition of filial piety in these poems excluded anything done after the death of parents. They emphasized only the dimension of respecting parents while the latter were

⁴⁴² Lauren Pfister, "A Transmitter but Not a Creator Ho Tsun-sheen (1817-1871): The First Modern Chinese Protestant Theologian", 184.

alive. Xiao Xinzhen (蕭信真) believed that filial piety was to take care of the parents when they were alive: “Regarding sacrifice, there are no proofs of the existence of ghosts 致祭椎牛鬼豈憑”.⁴⁴³ Yilishi (一蠡氏) suggested that one should “enjoy the happiness with the family on time, as after death nothing can be done 及時早博庭闈樂歿後空將柩棖陳”⁴⁴⁴. They denied that filial piety could be practiced after the death of parents.

On the other hand, they also made use of different texts to explain its importance. Chen Shenxiu (陳慎修), Yang Yongzhi (楊用之) and Ouyang Ze (歐陽澤) quoted stories from the *Twenty-four Filial Exemplars* (二十四孝) edited in Yuan Dynasty.⁴⁴⁵ These stories demonstrate the filial piety of the ancients. In addition, the writers also quoted the traditional Chinese idiom “Filial piety is the first of the hundred virtues 百行孝爲先” in their poems.⁴⁴⁶

Irene Eber suggested that these poems, together with an article by Liu

⁴⁴³ Xiao Xinzhen (蕭信真), “He Hankou Jiaoyou Shijie Shi yi Yuanyun Qilue Shiyishou” 和漢口教友十誠詩依原韻七律十一首 [Eleven poems on the Ten Commandments following the rhyme of the Brethren in Hankou], *WGGB* vol. 11 no. 545 (28/6/1879): 6435

⁴⁴⁴ Yilishi (一蠡氏), “Shangdi Shijie Shi” 上帝十誠詩 [Poems on the Ten Commandments], *WGGB* vol. 12 no. 559 (11/10/1879): 6726.

⁴⁴⁵ Chen Shenxiu (陳慎修), “Shangdi Shijie Shi” 上帝十誠詩 [Poems on the Ten Commandments], *JHXP* vol. 2 (1869): 633; Yang Yongzhi (楊用之), “Hankou jilai Fuyin Shijie shi” 漢口寄來福音十誠詩 [Poems on the Ten Commandments of gospel from Hankou], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 395 (8/7/1876): 2631; Ouyang Ze (歐陽澤), “He Hankou Jiaoyou Shijie shi yuanyun qilue shishou” 和漢口教友十誠詩原韻七律十首 [Ten poems on the Ten Commandments following the rhyme of Brethren in Hankou], *WGGB* vol. 11 no. 546 (5/7/1879): 6459.

⁴⁴⁶ Chen Shenxiu, “Shangdi Shijie Shi”, 633; Yilishi, “Shangdi Shijie Shi”, 6726.

Changxing on the Ten Commandments, are evidence of how Chinese Protestant Christians proved that the Christian doctrines are in no way contradicting the cultural assumptions they received from Confucianism.⁴⁴⁷ However, their efforts seemed to be futile, since the Chinese literati still believed that Christianity did not promote filial piety.

Liu Xingdao (劉行道) wrote an article in *Yubao* (渝報) in 1898 entitled “Xiaojing Tuiyuan Tianzu Yufang Yijiao Shui (孝經推原天祖預防異教說, literally “Through the *Classic of Filial Piety* tracing the importance of Heaven and Ancestors and Prevent Heterodox Religion”). His article proposed a revival of Confucianism by promoting “The *Spring and Autumn Annals*” as the political Classic (*Zhengshu*, 政書), and “The *Classic of Filial Piety*” as the religious Classic (*Jiaoshu*, 教書).⁴⁴⁸ He believed that the calamities which befell late Qing China were brought about by Christianity, the “heterodox religion”. He commented that for Christianity,

“They only know that Heaven is the origin, but not knowing that ancestors are also the origin. Didn’t Confucian say ‘those who did not love their parents but love others are against virtue, and those who did not respect their parents but respected the

⁴⁴⁷ Irene Eber, “Notes on the Early Reception of the Old Testament”, 112.

⁴⁴⁸ Liu Xingdao (劉行道), “Xiaojing Tuiyuan Tianzu Yufang Yijiao Shui” 孝經推原天祖預防異教說 [Through the *Classic of Filial Piety* tracing the importance of Heaven and Ancestors and Prevent Heterodox Religion], on *Yu Bao*, vol. 9 (2/1898).

others are against rites'? It was called ignoring father and emperor, ignoring Heaven and ancestors 惟其知本悖天而不知本悖祖孔子不云悖不愛其親而愛他人者謂之悖德不敬其親而敬他人者謂之悖禮時謂者無父無君無天無祖矣.”⁴⁴⁹

Liu suggested that Christianity is against Chinese tradition not only because they rejected the practice of ancestral worship, but also because their teaching on filial piety did not agree with the Confucian Classics. Therefore, he reached the conclusion that “the Europeans destroy other countries, races and teachings by promoting the practice of Christianity [to them]歐洲之人藉行教以墟人國夷人種滅人教”. To restore order, he suggested that followers of Confucianism should remember that “there were ancestors since the beginning of the world 自有天地即有祖宗” and should be “sad perish of race and the calamity of [our] emperor and father 痛種族之淪急君父之難”.⁴⁵⁰

The idea that serving the emperor without loyalty is unfilial (事君不忠非孝也) comes from the *Classic of Filial Piety*. His article demonstrates that the traditional literati accused Christianity as unfilial not only because Christians did not worship their ancestors, but also because Christian doctrines contradicted the Confucian Classics. The Chinese literati did not think that the

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

Chinese Protestant Christians' response was persuasive. It shows that the Chinese Protestant Christians' effort is futile.

Irene Eber once pointed out that the Ten Commandments were understood as moral axioms.⁴⁵¹ It is true that they were not understood by Chinese Protestant Christians as laws. They believed that through practicing the Commandments, reward both in this world and in the future were promised. They believed that the reward of filial piety in this world was longevity. Ouyang Ze pointed out that "Virtue are praised by practicing the fifth commandment to honor parents and then life can be longer and prosperity can be increased 五誠尊親德可稱遐齡堪祝祿堪增"⁴⁵². Yang Yongzhi believed that "[people] enjoy long life in this world certainly with reasons 享世遐齡原有據".⁴⁵³ Jiang Lianyuan believed that "longevity were achieved" because of filial piety⁴⁵⁴. Xiao wrote "The honor of a dutiful son was not easy to claim, [this fame] will bring about blessings and long life 孝子嘉名豈易稱許從福地把齡增".⁴⁵⁵ Furthermore, people who practiced filial

⁴⁵¹ Irene Eber, "Introduction", in Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, Knut Walf ed. *Bible in modern China: the literary and intellectual impact*, 19.

⁴⁵² Ouyang Ze, "He Hankou Jiaoyou Shijie Shi Yuanyun Qilue Shishou", 6459.

⁴⁵³ Yang Yongzhi, "Hankou Jilai Fuyin Shijie shi", 2631.

⁴⁵⁴ Jiang Lianyuan (蔣連元), "He Hankou Jiaoyou Shijie Shi yi Yuanyun Qilue Shiyishou" 和漢口教友十誠詩依原韻七律十一首 [Eleven poems on the Ten Commandments following the rhyme of the Brethren in Hankou], *WGGB* vol. 12 no. 556 (20/9/1879): 6670.

piety could enjoy blessings after death. Jiang wrote that “to enjoy eternal life, the commandment was the guarantee 長生美世遐齡增永享福地聖誠憑”.⁴⁵⁶ On the contrary, the wrath of God will come to those who are unfilial. Yang Yongzhi wrote that “Sin will be doubled on those who acted against their parents 恐逆雙親罪重增”,⁴⁵⁷ Chen Shenxiu believed that “The sacred commandment is clear and the wrath of Heaven is awful 聖誠彰彰天懷懷”.⁴⁵⁸ Yilishi warned that “the reward and punishment were from the true God 須明追報在真神”.⁴⁵⁹ Although different denominations held different viewpoints on whether human beings were saved by their deeds or their faith, none of them suggested that human beings would be rewarded in this world. Confucian Classics do not mention the rewards of good deeds either. The origin of such belief is the moral books.

The above discussion demonstrated how the Chinese Protestant Christians refuted the accusation that they were unfilial. They believed that the accusation originated from their refusal to participate in ancestral worship, and therefore they tried to explain that ancestral worship was not an

⁴⁵⁵ Xiao Xinzhen, “He Hankou Jiaoyou Shijie Shi yi Yuanyun Qilue Shiyishou”, 6435.

⁴⁵⁶ Jiang Lianyuan, “He Hankou Jiaoyou Shijie Shi yi Yuanyun Qilue Shiyishou”, 6670.

⁴⁵⁷ Yang Yongzhi, “Hankou jilai Fuyin Shijie shi”, 2631.

⁴⁵⁸ Chen Shenxiu, “Shangdi Shijie Shi”, 633.

⁴⁵⁹ Yilishi, “Shangdi Shijie Shi” 6726.

expression of filial piety. Through the attempt of redefining filial piety, the dilemma between filial piety and ancestral worship was addressed.

5.2.2 The Idea of Reward and Punishment according to Human Behavior

As shown above, Chinese Protestant Christians believed that rewards and punishment were related to human behavior, and they emphasized the moral teaching of Christianity. This idea probably originated in Chinese traditional values. The idea of Karma, from Buddhism, was transformed into a simple ideology in Chinese tradition. Two kinds of articles were generated from the tension between this kind of belief and Christianity. First, Chinese Protestant Christians tried to explain the problems of morality in the stories of the Old Testament. Second, many Chinese interpreted the Biblical verses in the light of this belief and overemphasize the importance of good deeds. This part will analyze the first kind of articles, and the second kind of articles will be discussed in the next part.

Lu Congzhou wrote to *JHXP* in 1869 to ask questions on Rahab, Micah, Jonathan and Jacob. These biblical characters lied to others and did not receive punishment from God. He especially found Jacob's story problematic

because the former three lied with the intention of saving others, but Jacob was a trickster and he got his blessing through cheating his father.⁴⁶⁰

Wang Pinsan suggested that Jacob is innocent because he cheated before God issued the law: “perhaps [he] don’t know that lying is a sin 或未知謊之爲罪”. In addition, he cheated his father only because he loved God, therefore he is innocent.⁴⁶¹ Bu Wangbian emphasized instead that Esau did not deserve blessing. His interpretation, however, did not base on the story of Genesis, but the verse “lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau” (Heb. 12: 16). Bu suggested that Jacob got blessed because Esau had sold the birthright to Jacob already. Since Esau did not respect his birthright, “When Isaac was old and blind, he treated Jacob as the eldest son and Esau as the second son, proving that this [the destiny] cannot be changed by human, and Heaven’s will was in it 以撒年老昏瞶的時候給他們哥兒們求福也是把雅各當長子把以掃當次子足目人力不至於此實在是有天命在裡頭”.⁴⁶² In his interpretation, Jacob was blessed not because of his tricks, but because Esau

⁴⁶⁰ Lu Congzhou (路從周), “Ningpo Lu Jiaoyou Lai wen” 寧波路教友來問 [Questions from brethen Lu from Lingpo], *JHXP*, 1 (1868): 346.

⁴⁶¹ Wang Pinsan (黃品三), “Jiekan Lu Jiaoyou Houban” 接刊路教友後半 [The Second Half of the Answer to Brethen Lu], *JHXP*, 1 (1868): 377.

⁴⁶² Bu Wangbian (補網篇), “Kong You Xing Yinwang yu Yisao” 恐有行淫妄如以掃 [lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 477 (23/2/1878): 4665.

did not deserve the blessing of Isaac. Both Wang and Bu denied that Jacob is a sinner.

Zhu Shitang from Hankou also replied that Jacob did not get his blessing through cheating his father. Jacob was destined to be blessed, so he would have received blessing even if he had not cheated Isaac, his father. It is because he cheated Isaac and committed sin that he had to bear the fear of being killed by his brother, and he mourned for his lost son when he was old. These punishments were the result of his sin.⁴⁶³ Frederick Laughton (?-1870),⁴⁶⁴ a British Baptist missionary in Shandong, agreed with Zhu. Laughton suggested that God prepared blessing for Jacob, but Jacob did not have enough faith in God, so he cheated. And later Jacob “went out for decades, when [he] return, he could not see his mother. This was perhaps punishment from God”.⁴⁶⁵ Admitting Jacob to be a sinner, Zhu and Laughton suggested that Jacob was punished by God. The idea that God would punish the evildoer and reward those who followed his commandment is clearly demonstrated in these articles.

⁴⁶³ Zhu Shitang (朱師堂), “Hanzhen Laigau” 漢鎮來稿 [From Hankow], *JHXP*, 1 (1868): 396.

⁴⁶⁴ Luo Feili (駱腓力), “Da Ningpo Lu Jiaoyou wen” 答寧波路教友問 [Answer the question of Lu from Ningpo], *JHXP*, 1 (1868): 415.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

The emphasis on morality and personal behavior found its roots in the tradition of Chinese popular religions. These ideas can be observed from tracts of the popular religions. The *Gongguo Ge* tradition (功過格, literally ledger of merits and demerit), started by Yuan Huang (袁黃, 1533-1606) in late Ming period, continued to be influential in the late Qing period.⁴⁶⁶ *Gongguo Ge* categorized human daily practice into merit and demerit, those who follow this tradition would count his merit and demerit daily. They believed that merit would return in blessing and fortune and demerit would return punishment. Through the idea of karma, those who practiced would be motivated to have good behavior.⁴⁶⁷

5.2.3: Salvation on both Morality and Faith

Protestant Christianity emphasized that men are saved by faith alone. However, Chinese Protestant Christians concerned more on the importance of good behavior despite that they still maintained that faith is important. In fact, they even go so far as to believe that morality was necessary to salvation.

There was a few writing competition on *JHXP*, and one of them used the verse “Test everythings; hold fast that which is good⁴⁶⁸” (1. Thess. 5: 21) as

⁴⁶⁶ Yau Chi On, *Quanhua Jin Zhen: Qingdai Shanshu Yanjiu*, 79.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 78.

⁴⁶⁸ The verse is amended because KJV’s wording “Prove all things” is difficult for our discussion.

the topic. The verse is translated into Chinese as “It is appropriate to examine all things and hold fast to the good (宜察凡事其善執之)”, and all the writers interpret it through emphasizing the importance of keeping the law of God.

Yuedong Xiushi (粵東修士), the champion of the competition, first compared the verse with several sentences in the Five Classics, and proved that the Confucian Classics also advocated investigating things and holding good principles. He suggested that the “original good (元善)” in the *Book of Change*, the “holding fast of the Mean (執中)” in the *Book of Documents*, and the phrase “without bad intention (思無邪)” in the *Book of Songs* indicates the need to hold fast of the good.⁴⁶⁹ He then concluded that Christian teaching matched with the Confucian Classics. For Yuedong Xiushi, to hold fast the good is to practice morality. Both the Ten Commandments and Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount are guidance on how to hold fast to good things.⁴⁷⁰ Through his examples, he demonstrated that to hold fast to the good is to practice the Christian teaching on morality.

The first runner-up, Qiushui Yiren (秋水伊人) adopted a similar approach. He quoted the Confucian teaching “Be discriminating, be uniform

⁴⁶⁹ Yuedong Xiushi (粵東修士), “Yi Cha Fanshi qi Shan zhizhi” 宜察凡事其善執之 [Prove all things; hold fast that which is good], *JHXP* 4 (1870): 1521.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1522.

(in the pursuit of what is right), and hold fast of the Mean (精一執中)” in the very beginning of his article. This is traditionally attributed to the ancient sages of China. He further suggested that this sentence means one has to carefully investigate the world and hold to the good doctrines, and this is the main theme of Confucianism, but it was lost after Zhu Xi. He pointed out that this theme is exactly what the verse means.⁴⁷¹ Then he listed things which are regarded as not good: selfishness (私), evil (邪), mean (薄), impetuous (躁), lust (淫), cunning (奸), pride (傲), violent (暴), greed (貪), sloth (怠), luxury (奢), capricious (肆), aggressive (爭), eccentric (乖), anger (激) and falsity (偽). What he listed contains both character and behavior, and they are seen as origins of immorality. He further suggested that to hold fast to the good is to serve God.

The importance of morality is also emphasized in Cheng Jiehua (程介花)’s article. In his article “and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out (John 6: 37)”, Cheng demonstrated the need for eternal life and the mercy of Jesus. Although he pointed out that following Jesus was the only way to salvation, he still emphasized the importance of morality. In his article, he first pointed out that wealth and fame are important, but cannot be achieve by

⁴⁷¹ Qiushui Yiren (秋水伊人), “Yi Cha Fanshi qi Shan Zhizhi” 宜察凡事其善執之 [Prove all things; hold fast that which is good], *JHXP* 4 (1870): 1529.

us alone. And eternal life, which is much more important than wealth and fame, can be achieved only by following Jesus. It is because Jesus is so merciful that he hopes all of us can be saved. Therefore, he urged others to follow Jesus by practicing the teachings of Christianity, which include “Baptism, Eucharist, following the order of Lord, and acting according to the sacred rules (the Commandments) 受洗禮吃聖餐從主命照聖規”.⁴⁷²

Baptism and the Eucharist are sacraments in the Christian tradition. In Cheng’s exposition, practicing the teachings of Jesus and acting according to the Commandments are good behaviors which are of equal importance to the sacraments. The importance of morality and the Commandments is emphasized.

In explaining the verse “what shall I do to inherit eternal life?” (Luke 10: 25), Ying Shaogu (英紹古) suggested that following commandments was not enough for one to inherit eternal life. Ying emphasized that the lawyer followed all the commandments, especially the Ten Commandments. Indeed, a large part of his article is used to elaborate how the lawyer in the verse followed the Ten Commandments.⁴⁷³ And in the last part of his article, he

⁴⁷² Cheng Jiehua (程介花), “Fan Jiuwo Zhe Wo Zhi Buqi” 凡就我者我之不棄 [and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out], *JHXP* vol. 4 (1872): 1658.

⁴⁷³ Ying Shaogu (英紹古), “Wo Dang Hewei hede Yongsheng” 我當何爲可得永生 [What shall I do to inherit eternal life?], in *JHXP* vol. 5 (1873): 2483-4.

concluded that “the lawyer asked because he believed that he can inherit eternal life through keeping the commandments, but he did not have the idea of caring the others”.⁴⁷⁴ Ying probably misinterpreted the verse. In the verse, the lawyer who asked Jesus believed that to follow the commandment of “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself” (Luke 10: 27) is the key to inherit eternal life, and Jesus agreed. The lawyer further asked, “Who is my neighbour”, and Jesus replied with the famous story of the Samaritan. Nevertheless, through his exposition, Ying argued that one cannot inherit eternal life by *only* keeping the commandments and moral rules. But for him, keeping the moral rules is a necessary requirement.

The above articles indicated that almost no one would doubt that morality is a necessary requirement of salvation. Their aim in writing the articles is to prove that Christianity teaches morality that is similar to Confucianism and Chinese traditions in order to encourage the conversion of the Chinese. On the contrary, the importance of faith is largely ignored by the Chinese Protestant Christians. One may cry, “Heresy” or “Pelagianism”, but

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, 2484.

instead of accusing them, it will be more interesting to observe how they deal with the verses that relate to the importance of faith.

There were only a few articles which quoted verses on the importance of faith in Pauline letters. And surprisingly, when Bu Wangbian (補網篇) wrote on the verse “Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ” (Rom. 5: 1), his emphasis was placed on the latter part of the verse: “we have peace with God (得與神復和)”. The main idea of Bu’s article is that God pardons the sin of man because of the death of Jesus. He suggested that God cannot forgive man because of the justice of the law, and it is through the death of Jesus that the sin of man is forgiven. Therefore, one should repent and believe in Jesus.⁴⁷⁵ Bu did not mention whether good behavior is important after a man believed in Jesus, but it is clear that man cannot be saved only by good deeds.

Zhang Fengyuan (張逢源) from Tianjin seemed to be the only one who held the viewpoint that faith is the most important thing in Christianity, although he still believed that Christians converts should have good behavior. According to Zhang’s article entitled “by the law of faith” (Rom. 3: 27), Paul demonstrated that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of law. Zhang

⁴⁷⁵ Bu Wangpian (補網篇), “De Yu Shen Fuhe” 得與神復和 [we have peace with God], *WGGB* vol. 10 no. 475 (9/2/1878): 4608.

argued that laws were made according to the *Dao*. Men were sinned when they violated the laws, and were justified via their practice of laws. Zhang then pointed out that Paul said that men should not boast even they are justified because they are not justified by law, but by faith.⁴⁷⁶ Zhang suggested that it is because no laws are better than to learn from God himself; to believe and follow Jesus is better than to follow the law, and those who believed that following laws is enough to be justified are prideful. On the other hand, because of faith in God, one is seen as justified by the righteous God. It is because the believer and Jesus are in communion, that their sins are forgiven.⁴⁷⁷ Zhang further suggested that the world is corrupted, and the nature of man is easily to be tempted (處污濁之世具易遷之性),⁴⁷⁸ and it is only because the help of the Holy Spirit that the believers could “expel their selfishness and return to the *Tianli* 私欲消除天理來復”.⁴⁷⁹ In his exposition, he denied that following laws can lead to salvation and emphasized that faith in Jesus is the only way. However, he still believed that good deeds could be achieved after one believed in God and with the help of the Holy Spirit.

⁴⁷⁶ Zhang Fengyuan (張逢源), “Zai Xin” 在信 [by the law of faith], *WGGB*, vol. 9 no. 420 (30/12/1876): 3257.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 3258.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

Through the above observation, it is clear that the importance of morality and good deeds is especially emphasized by the Chinese Protestant Christians. The immorality of the protagonists in the Bible is questioned, and they tried to explain away the questions. In addition to that, they often emphasized the need to be righteous after becoming Christian. The theory of justification by faith in the Pauline tradition was largely ignored. Only Zhang Fengyuan explained Paul's viewpoint, but Zhang still maintained that the Christians should practice good deeds after they converted to Christianity. Chinese Protestant Christians never doubted that good behavior would be rewarded by God.

5.3 Chinese Protestant Christians' Attitudes towards Confucianism

Through the above two parts, it is clear that the Chinese Protestant Christians interpreted the Bible in the light of their own cultural background and they tried hard to prove that Christianity was in a harmony with Chinese traditional values led by Confucianism. These trends of interpretation only showed their effort in interpreting the Bible in their daily lives and in their traditional cultural background, it did not yet reflect their attitudes towards Confucianism

This part will demonstrate the Chinese Protestant Christians' attitude towards Confucianism. The Chinese Protestant Christians believed that their contemporary Confucian scholars were not the real heir of Confucius, and in contrast they themselves claimed that their thoughts have truly followed the philosophy of Confucianism. In addition to that, they also embraced a Canon different from their contemporary Confucian scholars. On the contrary, their interpretation of Confucianism was never mentioned by those contemporaries. The idea that Confucianism agreed with Christianity also led some Chinese Protestant Christians to questioning if Confucianism was still needed.

5.3.1 The Real Heir of Confucianism

The development of Confucianism until Late Qing period showed that the concept "Confucianism" is not as clear as commonly assumed. There were different schools of thought in Confucianism, and these schools affected the Chinese Protestant Christians' attitude of Confucianism. Most of the Chinese Protestant Christians rejected the dominant schools of Confucianism and believed that by reading the Classics themselves, and in the light of the work of specific scholars, they comprehended the essence of Confucianism.

Liu Changxing's (劉常惺) article "The Ten Commandments of Moses agreed with Confucianism (摩西十誡與儒道相合說)" may show to us that

the Chinese Protestant Christians were not following Confucianism of their contemporary scholars. Liu's article is used as an example to show how Chinese Protestant Christians tried to use concepts from Confucianism to explain Christianity.⁴⁸⁰ It introduces the Ten Commandments and suggests that they agree with the teaching of the Four Books and the Five Classics, thus proving Confucianism and Christianity are similar.

Liu pointed out that his understanding of the Four Books is according to the annotation of Zhang Zhongcheng (張仲誠) who is a scholar in the early Qing Dynasty. He is also known as Zhang Mu (張沐). He got the *Jinshi* (進士) degree in 1658. He had a debate with Yan Yuan (顏元, also known as Yan Xizhai 顏習齋, 1635-1704) on Confucianism. Yan commented that "The school of Song Confucianism misled Zhang Zhongcheng in the south, Li Zhongfu in the west, Wang Faqian in the north. They were gifted scholars who can guide the mass. The problem of misleading normal people is small, but that of misleading gifted scholars is large 宋儒之學南誤張仲誠西誤李中孚北誤王法乾皆天生俊傑可爲斯人立命者誤常人之患小誤賢智之禍大".⁴⁸¹ Through Yan's comment, we can know that Zhang is a scholar from

⁴⁸⁰ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiyong yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 125; Irene Eber, "Notes on the Early Reception of the Old Testament", 112.

⁴⁸¹ Dai Wang (戴望), *Yanshi Xueji* 顏氏學記 [The Record on Academic Affairs of Yan's school] (Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1930), 71.

Song Confucian tradition and was not famous in his time. It was not until 1862 that a temple was built for him in his hometown and his books were published.⁴⁸²

Liu divided the Ten Commandments into two parts, the first four was to confess the faith to God and follow him, and the following six commandments were on moral issues. He further related them respectively with different concepts founded in the Four Books.⁴⁸³ However, he did not give any specific indication or clear explanation on these comparisons. For example, he suggested that “the former four is an extension of knowledge and the latter six the investigation of things 前四條是致知後六條是格物”⁴⁸⁴, but he never mention how the first four commandments extend our knowledge, nor how the latter six commandments help us investigate things. These comparisons lack evidence from either the Bible or the Confucian Classics, and thus are specious.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² Liu Changxing (劉常惺), “Rujiao Shengjiao Lun” 儒教聖教論 [On Confucianism and Christianity], *JHXP* 4 (1872): 1824-5.

⁴⁸³ Liu Changxing, “Moxi Shijia yu Rudao Xianghe Shuo” 摩西十誡與儒道相合說 [The Ten Commandments of Moses agree with Confucianism], *WGGB* vol. 8 no. 379 (18/3/1876): 2181.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiyong yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 125.

Another Chinese Protestant Christian named Zhang Ding (張鼎) refuted the interpretations of the Confucian classics by all existing schools. He used a pseudonym *Zhifei Zi* (知非子) to write a series of articles entitled “On the Falsity of Confucianism (儒教辯謬)”. One of them is on the Han and Song schools of Confucianism. He wrote that the Han Confucian scholars who followed the scholars in Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 C.E.), like He Xiu (何休, 129-182 C.E.) and Zhao Qi (趙岐), “annotated [the classic] by their own speculations in order to achieve their subjective aims 逞其私心憑其臆造自爲箋註”. He also comments that the Song Confucianism of Zhu Xi talked about the *li*(理) and constructed theories without evidence. He further suggested that in his time the two traditions “bounded the ears and eyes of the world 束縛天下之耳目聰明” through their publications.⁴⁸⁶ He suggested that the aim of studying Confucianism was to reach *Dao*, and neither school was better than Christianity.⁴⁸⁷

Yang Yongzi (楊用之) repeatedly pointed out that there were “*Xiaoren Ru* 小人儒” who only “embrace the Classics left after the fire of Qin and claim their learning real, abandoning the pure and real God and believe the

⁴⁸⁶ *Zhifei Zi* (知非子), “Rujiao Bian Miu Lun Hanru Songru” 儒教辨謬論漢儒宋儒 [On the Falsity of Confucianism, On Han Confucianism and Song Confucianism], *WGGB* vol. 11 no. 516 (30/11/1878): 5736-7.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 5737.

false god 誦秦火之遺篇稱實學棄清真之上帝信假神”,⁴⁸⁸ The concept of

“*Xiaoren*” was used by Confucius to blame those who have no virtue.

“*Xiaoren Ru*” appeared in the *Analects* once, that Confucius advice his student

Zi Xia (子夏) “Be a scholar after the style of the superior man, and not after

that of the mean man 汝爲君子儒無爲小人儒,” (*Analects* 6: 11) By

suggesting their contemporary Confucian scholars as not the heir of

Confucianism, they tried to claim themselves the real heir of Confucius.

In addition to this, they also quoted extensively from the Confucian Classics to prove their viewpoint. It is true that some of the Chinese Protestant Christians wanted to show to their readers that they were not illiterate.⁴⁸⁹ But these quotations also showed that they were trying to understand the Bible, their new Classic, in terms of their old Classics. And through seeing the origin of one of the most frequent quotation, it can be clearly shown that the Chinese Protestant Christians embraced a Canon that is different from their contemporary Confucian scholars.

The phrase “hold fast of the mean 執中” appears frequently. The Chinese Protestant Christian writers claim that it is from the Confucian

⁴⁸⁸ Yang Jiantang (楊鑑堂), “Yeshu yue Woguo Bu Su Cishi” 耶穌曰我國不屬此世 [Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world], *JHXP* 3421;

⁴⁸⁹ Cao Jingrong (曹景榮), “Beijing Cao Jingrong Jiaoyou Xin” 北京曹景榮教友信 [Letter from Brethren Cao Jingrong of Peking], *JHXP*, vol. 2 (1869): 324.

Classics. It is recorded in the *Book of Documents*: the whole sentence is “The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean 人心惟危道心惟微惟精爲一允執厥中”.⁴⁹⁰ It is suggested that King Yao (堯) conveyed the sentence “that you may sincerely hold fast of the Mean” to King Shun (舜), and King Shun added the three sentences and conveyed them to King Yu (禹). The three sentences added were to clarify the sentence of King Yao.⁴⁹¹ According to Confucianism, Yao, Shun and Yu were sages in the ancient time. The sentence is found in “The Counsels of the Great Yu” (大禹謨).

At first glance, the Chinese Protestant Christians seem to have been familiar with the Confucian Classics. However, the passage of “Counsels of the Great Yu” had already been proved as a fabrication by Mei Ze (梅賾) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420 C.E.) by the early Qing dynasty. *The Book of Documents* had two versions after the Tang Dynasty, the Old Text Version (古文經) claimed itself to be the complete version of the book, it contained 58 passages. The New Text Version (今文經) had only 29 passages, which was

⁴⁹⁰ The translation here adopts from James Legge, which probably represented the understanding of the sentence by the missionaries and Chinese Christians graduated from missionaries' school. See James Legge, *The Sacred Books in China*, 50.

⁴⁹¹ Zhu Xi (朱熹), *Zhongyong Zhangju Xu* 中庸章句序 [Prologue to the Doctrine of Mean].

also included in the Old Text Version. The “Counsel of the Great Yu” only appeared in the Old Text Version. Yan Ruojia (閻若璩, 1636-1704) proved that the Old Text Version was a fabrication. His conclusion was accepted by almost all scholars in the Qing dynasty including Hui Dong (惠棟, 1679-1752), Sun Xingyan (孫星衍, 1753-1818) and Duan Yucai (段玉裁, 1735-1815).⁴⁹² Both Qian Mu (錢穆, 1895-1990) and Liang Qichao (梁啟超, 1873-1929) suggested that Yan’s conclusion is authoritative.⁴⁹³ This passage is included in James Legge’s translation of the Chinese Classics, but Legge’s reason is that even though the book is a product of a relatively late period, it is still regarded as classic because it had been in the Confucian tradition for thousands of years.⁴⁹⁴ Through the above example, it is clear that the Chinese Protestant Christians were not sharing the same canon with their contemporary Confucian scholars.

⁴⁹² Sun Xingyan (孫星衍), *Shangshu Jin Gu Wen Zhushu* 尚書今古文注疏 [Annotation on New and Old Text of *The Book of Documents*] (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1986), 1; Duan Yucai (段玉裁), *Gu Wen Shangshu Zhuanyi* 古文尚書撰異 [On the differences occurs in the Old Text of *The Book of Documents*] (Taipei: Yi wen yin shu guan, 1986), 1-2.

⁴⁹³ Qian Mu (錢穆), *Zhongguo Jin Sanbai Nian Xueshu Shi* 中國近三百年學術史 [The Academic History of the recent 300 years of China] (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu, 1957), 282; Liang Qichao (梁啟超), *Zhongguo Jin Sanbai Nian Xueshu Shi* 中國近三百年學術史 [The Academic History of the recent 300 years of China] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shu ju, 1937), 68-69.

⁴⁹⁴ James Legge trans., *The Sacred books of China: the texts of Confucianism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1879-85), 10.

There are no clues that the famous Confucian scholar at that time accepted these Chinese Protestant Christians' understanding of Confucianism. Liang Qichao, a famous Confucian scholar in the late Qing period and a reader of *WGGB*, commented that he cannot find knowledge other than science and technology in books translated by missionaries.⁴⁹⁵

5.3.2. A Tide of Anti-Confucianism?

The different views regarding Confucianism can best be demonstrated by two different articles. An article entitled “The Doctrine of the Mean in Confucianism is same with the Religion of Jesus (儒教中庸與耶穌教同)” pointed out that the idea in the *Classic of the Doctrine of the Mean* of Confucianism agrees with what taught in the gospel. He argued that the teaching of Confucian book, “What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others 施諸己而不願亦勿施於人” (*The Doctrine of the Mean*, 13: 3), is the same with The Golden rule recorded in the Gospel according to Matthew. The Gospel according to Matthew recorded that “all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them” (Matt. 7: 12). The writer suggested that the two sentences “are different in wordings,

⁴⁹⁵ Liang Qichao, *Qingdai Xueshu Gailun* 清代學術概論 [A Summary of the Academic Trend in the Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhong-guo Ren-min chu-ban-she, 2004), 217.

but the implication that [one should] treat the others as oneself is the same principle of reciprocity 立言雖若異而以己之心度人則同一恕道也⁴⁹⁶”.

The article by Chen Xingu (陳心穀), on the contrary, severely criticized the book of the *Doctrine of Mean*. Chen Xingu criticized the first three sentences of the Confucian Classic *The Doctrine of the Mean*, namely “What Heaven has conferred is called the nature, accordance with this nature is called *Dao*, and the regulation of *Dao* is called instruction.天命之謂性率性之謂道修道之謂教”⁴⁹⁷. He suggested that “what is called *Tiandao* taught in the above statement is only the *Dao* of human 所謂修天道者不過是修人道” because he believed that the path of Heaven is put forth by the Other, while the path of human is issued by us human, and there are great differences between the Other and us human beings (天道有個他由他而出人道有個我由我而出他與我就大有分別了). Therefore human beings cannot understand the doctrine of Heaven by themselves. The belief that the practice of the sages agreed with *Tiandao* is a hubris(聖人爲與天道參這是自說天道妄譖天道). He maintained that only because Jesus descends to the earth to explain the

⁴⁹⁶ Yesu Jiao Huo Wen (耶穌教或問), “Rujiao Zhongyong yu Yesujiao Tong” 儒教中庸與耶穌教同 [The Doctrine of the Mean in Confucianism is the same with Christianity], *JHXP* vol. 2 (1869): 839.

⁴⁹⁷ Mainly based on Legge’s translation, but slightly amendment is made for the convenience of following discussion.

doctrine of Heaven to human beings (耶穌降世講明天道教化世人) that human beings can come to learn the doctrine of heaven. He believed that because Confucianism is not the teaching from Heaven, one cannot learn *Tiandao* through Confucianism and therefore the verse is nonsense. (沒有頭腦).⁴⁹⁸ However, he still believed that Confucianism is a *Dao* for human beings (人道).

The two articles demonstrated two different stances regarding Confucianism. One suggested that Confucianism agreed with Christianity, another believed that Confucianism is inferior to Christianity. Nevertheless, both articles agreed that Confucianism was not a complete doctrine, it is only a *Dao* of human (人道), not of the Heaven (天道).

The belief that what Confucianism taught was included in the Bible would inevitably lead to the stance of abolishing Confucianism. Zhu Shitang suggested in 1868 that “Christianity do not need Confucianism as a completion, for what Confucianism taught is included in our teaching. Christianity will not complete Confucianism, for our teaching is complete and

⁴⁹⁸ Chen Xingu (陳心穀), “Pi Rujiao Zhongyong shuo Tianming zhi wei Xing Shuaixing zhi wei Dao Xiudao zhi wei Jiao Sanyi” 闢儒教中庸說天命之謂性率性之謂道修道之謂教三意 [Refuting the three ideas in the statement ‘What Heaven has conferred is called the nature; an accordance with this nature is called the path of duty, the regulation of this path is called instruction’ in *The Doctrine of the Mean* in Confucianism], *WGGB* vol. 12 no. 581 (19/3/1880): 7123.

Confucianism is incomplete 我耶穌教必不用儒教之佐我儒教所言盡我教已言之我耶穌教亦必不佐儒教因我教所言非儒教之能及全者”.⁴⁹⁹ In classifying the Chinese Protestant Christians’ attitudes towards Confucianism, Ying Fuk Tsang suggested that the attitudes towards Confucianism by the Chinese Protestant Christians can be divided into mainly four trends, namely agreeing with Confucianism (合儒), completing Confucianism (補儒), transcending Confucianism (超儒) and anti-Confucianism (反儒).⁵⁰⁰ While the former three were efforts of accommodation, the latter one is beyond the effort of accommodation, and Zhu took an anti-Confucianism stance.⁵⁰¹ The same Zhu Shitang used the discussion of human nature in Mencius to explain why Adam and Eve committed sin even though they were good by nature.⁵⁰² One would recall the legend that in destroying the Library of Alexandria, Caliph Omar claimed that if those books are in agreement with the Quran, we have no need of them; and if these are opposed to the Quran, destroy them.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁹ Zhu Shitang, “Hankou Zhu Jiaoyou da Jieyuzi Qianban” 漢口朱教友答劫餘子前半 [The first half of answering Jieyuzi by Brethren Zhu from Hankou], *JHXP* vol. 1 (1868): 146; “Hankou Zhu Jiaoyou xu da Jieyuzi” 漢口朱教友續答劫餘子 [Second half of answering Jieyuzi by Brethren Zhu from Hankou], *JHXP* vol. 1 (1868): 155.

⁵⁰⁰ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wenhua Shiyong yu Zhongguo Jidutu: 1860-1911*, 122-133; 138-141.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁵⁰² Zhu Shitang, “Hanzhen Laigau”, 396.

⁵⁰³ Umberto Eco, “Interpretation and History”, 29-30.

Similarly, if what Confucianism taught were in agreement with the Bible, it is of no need. And if they opposed the Bible, then they must be abandoned.

However, the trend of abandoning Confucianism was not the dominant voice. Although most Chinese Protestant Christians agreed that Confucianism is inferior comparing to Christianity, few of them explicitly claim that Confucianism has to be abandoned.

Conclusion

This chapter aims to explore how the Chinese culture and Christianity interacted in the writings of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. The term “Confucianism” denoted not only the ideas shown in the Confucian Classics, but also different traditions in China.

Undoubtedly, they used concepts and ideas from the traditional culture to express the new religion. The Jewish law and commandments and the teachings of Jesus were seen as moral teachings. However, it should also be noticed that Christian ideas affected the traditional concepts. Ancestral worship was no longer seen as an expression of filial piety, and morality was no longer the most important factor in the problem of salvation. Although Chinese Protestant Christians adopted Confucian values, it is clear that they were under the influence of popular religions when they receive Christianity.

On the other hand, although they adopted different stances towards Confucianism, they quoted extensively from the Confucian Classics in their writings, but the Classics they quoted proved that they were sharing a different canon from their contemporary Confucian scholars. They believed that they were the real heir of Confucius, and Confucianism is a true doctrine, but inferior when comparing with Christianity. Therefore, some of them adopted the position of anti-Confucianism.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The current research aims at demonstrating how the Chinese Protestant Christians, a group of marginalized Chinese, interacted with the Bible, a foreign text.

As with the reception of every new text, the course of the reception of the Bible meets the difficulty of expressing foreign concepts in local terms. However, the reception of the Bible meets extra difficulty because it is the foundational text of Christianity. As a foreign religion, Christianity met great hindrance in its development in China. In the late Qing period, the hostility and accusations from society were especially obvious. As the basis of Christianity, the Bible is seen as the authority of Christianity. Chinese Protestant Christians used the Bible as evidence to support their stance. The current research tries to demonstrate the strategies they employed in the process.

It is clear that interpretation is always a rewriting of the text in a form usable for the current context. The current research suggests that the reception and interpretation of the Bible in late Qing China follows this pattern. The Chinese Protestant Christians' interpretation of the Bible is a form of rewriting. The mission of such rewriting is to refute the accusations placed on

by the Chinese and explain the importance of Christianity. This is the main aim of all the hermeneutical strategies employed.

The strategies they adopted included negotiation and negation of the text. They on the one hand affirmed that the Christian Bible is the only path to salvation; on the other hand reformulated the teachings from the Bible into mainly moral teachings, a genre that they were most familiar with. They on the one hand negated many customs of “Confucian origin”, and sometimes verses from Confucian Classics, on the other hand adopted many Confucian values in their interpretation of the Bible.

To counter the accusations, the Chinese Protestant Christians highly emphasized the moral teaching of Christianity. Chinese Protestant Christians believed that the teachings of Jesus and the Jewish law recorded in the Bible are the moral teaching of Christianity, and they further argue that these teachings are the same as those found in the Chinese traditions. It is believed that the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians were making crossings between Christianity and the Confucian Classics. However, the current research suggests that the Chinese Protestant Christians in the late Qing period were more familiar with a syncretic tradition of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, this kind of popular religion is different from the Confucianism of

their contemporary scholars. In addition, they concerned more on daily practice. It is a kind of Confucian-Christian dialogue that emphasizes more on daily practice than philosophical debates.

In addition, the current research discovers that in the course of reception of the Bible by the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians, the two cultural traditions interacted in the Chinese Protestant Christians, and on the one hand, they use concepts and ideas from the Chinese traditions to express the new religion. On the other hand, Christian ideas affected understanding of traditional concepts. Pfister had already observed similar characteristics from Ho Tsun Sheen's interpretation of the Ten Commandments⁵⁰⁴, but he concludes that Ho's interpretation is in the framework of "Christianity as essence and the Ruist Culture as mean". The current research discovers that not all Chinese Protestant Christians were familiar with the "Ruist culture", not to mention the different schools of Confucianism among the late Qing scholars. It is also hard to conclude from the writings of Chinese Protestant Christians as to which parts of culture they understood to be the "essence", and which was treated as the "mean". In addition, they all believed that

⁵⁰⁴ Lauren Pfister, "A Transmitter but Not a Creator Ho Tsun-sheen (1817-1871): The First Modern Chinese Protestant Theologian", in Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, Knut Walf ed. *Bible in modern China: the literary and intellectual impact* (Sankt Agustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999), 191-192.

Christianity agreed with Confucianism and may further claim that it can replace Confucianism.

The current research is largely limited by the material available. There are no materials dating from between 1883 and 1900, when the magazines published articles mainly on the reform movement and the writings of missionaries. It is hard to believe that the Chinese Protestant Christians wrote nothing on the Bible in this period. Unfortunately, the absence of the writings by Chinese Protestant Christians is a great hindrance for research.

It is hard to find any hints that these Chinese Protestant Christians affected the theologians of the Republican era directly, but it is undeniable that they are the pioneers of the famous theologians in many ways. The emphasis on the Kingdom of Heaven, the tendency of reductionism of Confucianism and Christianity, and the influence of Chinese traditions are already explicit in the interpretation of the Bible of the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians. In other words, the late Qing Chinese Protestant Christians had already paved the way for the mushrooming of Chinese theologians in the Republican era, although the theologians seldom mentioned the contribution of their pioneers.

Appendix: List of Transliteration of Name used in this Thesis (arranged according to alphabetical order)

Bangu Yongren 半瞽庸人	Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全
Buwangpian 補網篇	Hui Dong 惠棟
Cai Hongzhang 蔡鴻璋	Hu Liyuan 胡禮垣
Cai Yanren 蔡彥仁	Jiang Lianyuan 蔣連元
Cao Ziyu/ Cao Jingrong 曹子漁/曹景榮	Jieyu Zi 劫餘子
Cao Zishi 曹子實	Lai Guichun 賴桂春
Chan Daosheng 闡道生	Lau Siu Lun 劉紹麟
Chen Darong 陳大鏞	Law Wing Sang 羅永生
Chen Dianjie 陳殿傑	Lee, Archie Chi Chung 李熾昌
Chen Shenxiu 陳慎修	Lee Chi Fang 李齊芳
Chen Xingu 陳心穀	Lee Chi Kong 李志剛
Chen Xuanling 陳宣令	Lee Kam Keung 李金強
Chen Yang 陳暘	Leung Ka Lun 梁家麟
Chen Yinkun 陳銀崑	Leung Sau Wah 梁壽華
Chen Yunpeng 陳雲鵬	Leung Yuan Sang 梁元生
Cheng Jiehua 程介花	Li Chunsheng 李春生
Cheng Yifu 程一福	Li Enhan 李恩涵
Cheng Ziyi 程子翼	Li Qianjin 李乾金
Dai Wang 戴望	Li Tao 李濤
Daoguang 道光	Li Wansong 李萬松
Ding Guangxun 丁光訓	Li Zhongfu 李中孚
Duan Yucai 段玉裁	Lianfeng Jushi 蓮峰居士
Feng Ziyou 馮自由	Liang Fa 梁發
Fuli Yimin 甫里逸民	Liang Qichao 梁啓超
Gu Changsheng 顧長聲	Liang Tinnan 梁廷
Guangxu 光緒	Lianxi Yishi 蓮溪逸史
Guwangyan 姑妄言	Liu Changxing 劉常惺
Haishang Shanren 海上山人	Liu Xingdao 劉行道
He Xiu 何休	Liu Zhusong 劉竹松
He Yuquan 何玉泉	Lo Pingchang 駱秉章
Ho Tsun Sheen/Ho Fuk Tong 何進善/何福堂	Lu Congzhou 路從周
Ho Kai 何啓	Lu Haodong 陸皓東
Hong Rengan 洪仁玕	Lu Shiqiang 呂實強
	Luo Shizhen 羅世珍
	Luo Xianglin 羅香林

Mei Ze 梅賾
 Ng Tsz Ming 吳梓明
 Nie Zixiang 聶子祥
 Ou Fengchi 區鳳墀
 Ouyang Ze 歐陽澤
 Pan Xunru 潘恂如
 Qi Ying 耆英
 Qian Lianxi 錢蓮溪
 Qian Mu 錢穆
 Qianbao Zi 潛抱子
 Qianlong 乾隆
 Qingchuan Yilao 晴川逸老
 Qiu Derong 邱得榮
 Qiushui Yiren 秋水伊人
 Qu Ang 屈昂
 Quanwei Zi 勸慰子
 Raozhou Diyi Shangxinren 饒州第一傷心人
 Rong Hong 容閔
 Shen Baozhen 沈葆禎
 Shen Yugui 沈毓桂
 Shen Yunbo 沈雲伯
 Su Jing 蘇精
 Sun Xingyan 孫星衍
 Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙
 Tian Xingshu 田興恕
 Tao Feiya 陶飛亞
 Wang Faqian 王法乾
 Wang Jinxia 黃近霞
 Wang Lin 王林
 Wang Luanguang 黃鸞光
 Wang Mingdao 王明道
 Wang Pinsan 黃品三
 Wang Tao 王韜
 Wang Xin 黃鑫
 Wang Yangming 王陽明
 Wang Yisan 黃益三
 Wang Youguang 王有光

Wang Yuanshen 王元深
 Wei Yuan 魏源
 Wei Wu Che Laoren 未悟徹老人
 Woyun Shanren 臥雲山人
 Wu Leichuan 吳雷川
 Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳
 Xi Shengmo 席勝魔
 Xi Xiande 習賢德
 Xianfeng 咸豐
 Xiao Xinzhen 蕭信真
 Xie Hengtao 謝亨韜
 Yan Ruojia 閻若璩
 Yan Yongjing 顏永京
 Yan Yuan/Yan Xizhai 顏元/顏習齋
 Yang Guangxian 楊光先
 Yang Jiantang 楊鑑堂
 Yang Xiuqing 楊秀清
 Yang Yongzhi 楊用之
 Yau Chi On 游子安
 Yilishi 一蠡氏
 Yin Weiqin 尹維清
 Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增
 Ying Shaogu 英紹古
 Yu Futien 俞福田
 Yu Guozhen 俞國楨
 Yu Yifeng 余一峰
 Yu Yingshi 余英時
 Yuan Huang 袁黃
 Yuedong Xiushi 粵東修士
 Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
 Zexing Zi 則行子
 Zha Shijie 查時傑
 Zhang Fengkun 張鳳崑
 Zhang Fengyuan 張逢源
 Zhang Liheng 張禮恆
 Zhang Lizhu 張麗珠
 Zhang Zhichun 張志春

Zhang Mu/Zhang Zhongcheng 張沐/
張仲誠
Zhao Qi 趙歧
Zhizui Zi 知罪子
Zhong Yunsheng 仲允升
Zhou Shungui 周順規
Zhou Guoguang 周國光
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